

violent offending

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VIOLENT OFFENDING

A REPORT ON RECENT TRENDS IN
VIOLENT OFFENDING AND SOME
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VIOLENT
OFFENDER

by Mary Schumacher.

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PREFACE

The Department of Justice publication *Penal Research in New Zealand* expressed the need for a study of violence, and in 1970 the Research Section gave priority to this exercise. At that time public interest was focused particularly on specific kinds of assault receiving publicity in news media.

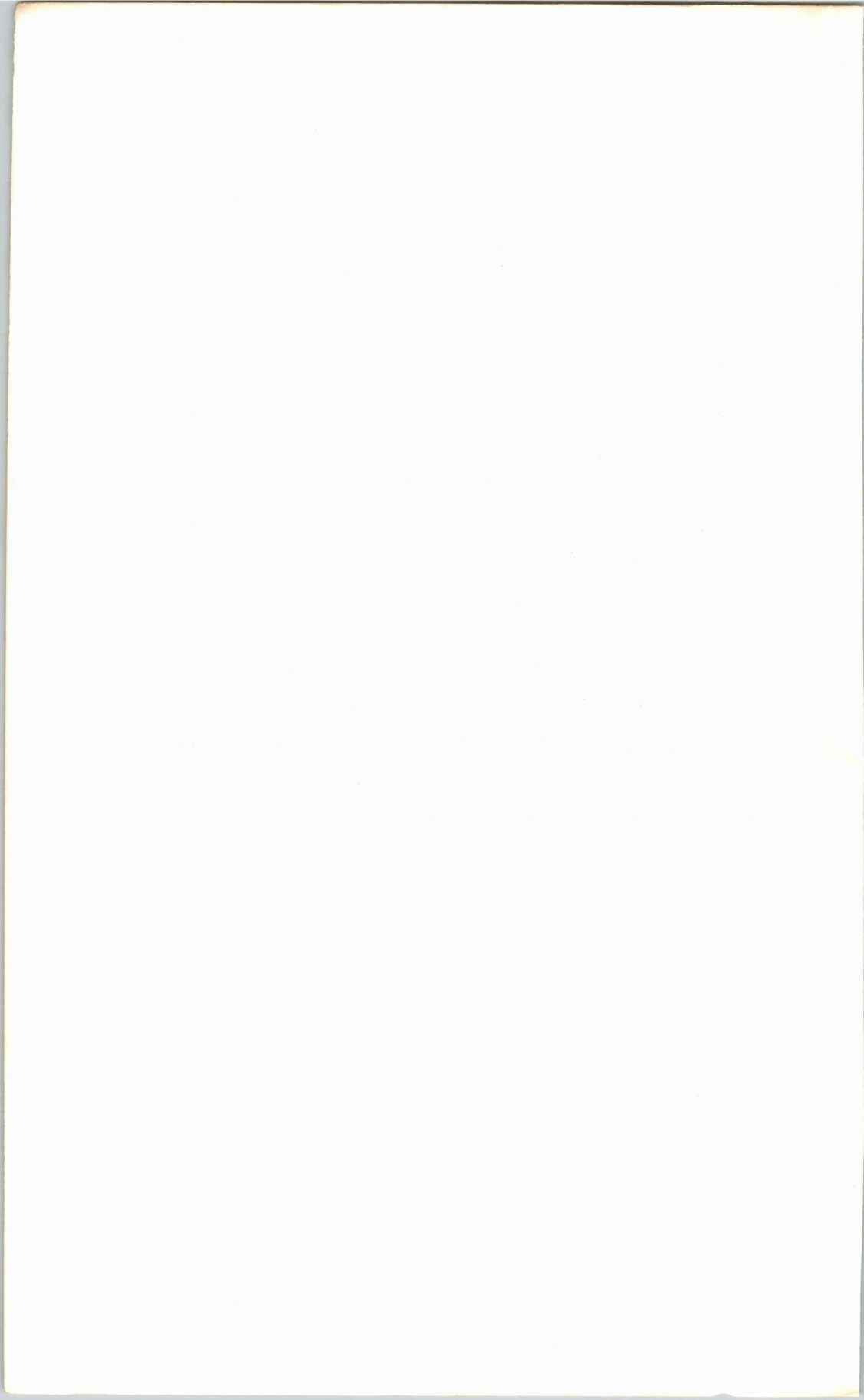
This study therefore confines itself to eight categories of violent offending—common assault, aggravated assault, robbery, aggravated robbery, wounding with intent, assault by a male on a female, rape, and attempted rape. The research team, while recognising the desirability of personal interviews with convicted offenders and with victims, decided to leave this for a less urgent future project.

It is hoped that this study adds substantially to existing knowledge of violent offending in New Zealand.

D. F. MacKenzie,
Director of Research.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
PREFACE	3
INTRODUCTION	7
<i>Chapter 1</i> —Trends in Violent Offending	11
<i>Chapter 2</i> —A Sample of Violent Offenders	29
<i>Chapter 3</i> —The Victims of Violent Crime	39
<i>Chapter 4</i> —1969-70	44
COMMENT	50
APPENDIX I: Description of the Eight Violent Offences ..	53
APPENDIX II: Police Statistics	56
APPENDIX III: Raw Data from Justice Statistics	58
LIST OF TABLES	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY	62



INTRODUCTION

In May 1970, UNESCO brought together a group of distinguished scientists from various disciplines to consider how far science had progressed towards understanding human aggression. The official report of the conference stated the problem before it.

“Homo sapiens, it would seem, is man’s deadliest enemy. No vertebrate, not even the most ferocious of the carnivores, habitually kills members of its own species—with two exceptions . . . rats and men. Can it be that . . . man is by instinct an aggressive creature, a born killer, and that it is this innate propensity to violence that accounts for individual and group aggression in man?”*

If this is true the outlook for mankind with new methods of mass destruction is one of deepening gloom. But to the question the UNESCO group replied with a “unanimous and resounding ‘No’ ”†. Man does not possess an aggressive instinct. This finding is, however, contrary to the view held by distinguished psychologists, social scientists, and writers such as Storr, Lorenz, and Morris, who believe man’s aggressiveness to be innate.

Discussion as to whether aggression is instinctive or learned behaviour, far from being a mere academic exercise, is important both in determining attitudes to violence, and in the treatment of violent offenders. Recent emphasis on widespread aggressive behaviour has given urgency to the study of people who behave in this way, to the prevention of violence and to concern for the victims.

Whether or not the real and unknown incidence of violence has become greater, the figures of conviction for offences against the person have in the decade up to 1970 dramatically increased in some European countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, and to a lesser degree in other countries including New Zealand‡. The first chapter in this report indicates that there has been a significant increase in the number of convictions for violent offending in New Zealand during the 14 years from 1956 to 1969. The greatest increase is shown in the figures for common assault, but it may be that this category contains crimes of widely varying seriousness. The increase in the rate of conviction for violent offending may be allied to one or several factors: an actual increase in violent offending, an increase in the proportion of young men in the age group at risk, migratory factors,

*The UNESCO “Courier”, Aug-Sept 1970, p. 4.

†Ibid., p. 6.

‡For a comparative survey see “The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society”, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967.

population compression, the growing efficiency of law enforcement agencies, a greater readiness on the part of the public to report violence, the impact of acceptable violence, the impact of all types of violence through the agency of the mass media.

It would be impossible in a brief study to do justice to the many sociological, psycho-analytical, and physiological theories on the origins of, and factors involved in, violence.

One quantitative view of violence deserves mention. Some students of human behaviour are not convinced that violence has in fact increased, and maintain that the quantum of aggression today is less than that of a hundred years ago. Since it is well-nigh impossible to measure the exact amount of any kind of human behaviour it is difficult to see how today's behaviour can be compared with that of 100 years ago. But three points are relevant in this context.

First, violence is indivisible, whether it be individual, group, or national, and whether it be socially approved as in war or condemned as in rape. Consequently, much violence may be wrapped in respectability and therefore tolerated. Second, the more highly developed (civilised) societies are, the less acceptable does internal violence become, and the stronger the public reactions of anger and fear. Consequently, illegal violence commands more publicity in mass media and in the minds of individuals. It is therefore more likely to be reported than in the past. Third, recent violence throughout the world has taken some unique forms with high visibility, notably those involving protesters and police.

Much criminological research is currently investigating violent behaviour, and speculation and discussion are going on in many disciplines throughout the world. The second chapter of this report is designed to provide some understanding of the type of person who is convicted for violent offending—his social background and previous offending history.

In this context a comparison of the New Zealand violent offender with his United States counterpart is appropriate.

In its final report to the President, the United States National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence drew up what it termed a "Profile of Violence". Of the various features of the violent offender in the United States, some are of sufficient similarity to results in this study to suggest some common ground.

It was established by the National Commission that violent crime was primarily a phenomenon of large cities. In the New Zealand study nearly two-thirds of the offences were committed by persons living in the largest urban areas*. This percentage is in excess of the proportion of the total population living in these areas. (There is evidence that the compression of other species, such as monkeys, in over-

*Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Hutt, Christchurch, and Dunedin.

crowded conditions leads to violent behaviour unknown in the natural environment*. The process may also be true of human beings.)

Secondly, violent crime in the United States is almost exclusively a male activity, and committed predominantly by youths and young men aged between 15 and 24 years. New Zealand results are similar, with more than 90 percent of violent offences committed by males, and 69 percent of all offenders in the sample aged between 15 and 24 years.

The Commission stated further that violent offences are committed primarily by individuals at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In this study 20.7 percent were unemployed in a year when the proportion of the population registered as unemployed was less than 1 percent.

The Commission profile indicated that "the greatest proportion" of all serious violence is committed by "repeaters". Only 18 percent of the offenders in our study had no previous convictions at all, and fully 52 percent of all repeaters had a previous conviction for one of the violent offences studied in this report.

Apart from a few isolated incidents, most violence in New Zealand involves single individuals or small groups. Concerted action is rare except perhaps in gang activity or prison riots. Alcoholic brawls, domestic quarrels, and robbery account for most cases of local violence. Quoting British figures for violence, Professor T. C. N. Gibbens says: "Among the indictable offences which provide the raw material for penal treatment, 30 percent are street attacks; 20 percent fights near pubs and cafes; 30 percent domestic disputes; 12 percent attacks on the police and their assisting public; and only 6 percent violent sex crimes. People convicted of street attacks are mainly under 21, those fighting around pubs are mainly between 17 and 25, and nearly all those in domestic disputes are, of course, over 25."† New Zealand violence presents the same kind of picture.

The available information about the victims of violent offenders is presented in the third chapter.

The United States National Commission stated that the violent crimes of homicide, rape, and assault tend to be acts against intimates or acquaintances. More than 30 percent of the victims in the New Zealand sample were acquainted with, or related to, the offender. This figure rises to 35 percent with rapes, and 50 percent with attempted rapes. Thirty-six percent of assaults also fall into this category. While the New Zealand percentages are not as high as those quoted by the Commission, it nonetheless appears significant that nearly one in three of the victims had a reasonably close relationship with the offender.

*Lorenz, K. "On Aggression", Methuen, London, 1966.

†Gibbens: "How Should We Treat Violent Offenders?"—New Society, 3 September 1970.

Professor Gibbens found that for all types of violent offender, one-half were well known to their victims.

The fourth chapter presents the most recent statistics available on violent offending in New Zealand. The emphasis in that chapter is on penalties, and the factors taken into account by the Judge when sentencing offenders in the Supreme Court.

The report concludes with a discussion on the problems of treatment.

CHAPTER 1

Trends in Violent Offending

The categories of violence included in this study are common assault, aggravated assault, robbery, aggravated robbery, wounding with intent, assault by a male on a female, rape, and attempted rape*. Homicide and cruelty to children are excluded. Both these violent crimes are special areas which have already been discussed in *Crime in New Zealand*†. In some offences violence is minimal. Rape is sometimes not accompanied by violence (e.g., in cases of personation or where there is an intoxicated victim) and no victims of rape in the sample suffered serious injury or required hospital treatment. It is likely, too, that some of the convictions for common assault are technical offences where no injury was sustained, i.e., an assault could have been charged by another police officer as disorderly behaviour.

Because the range of offences and years is greater in this report than in any previous study of trends the results differ. *Crime in New Zealand* showed a decreasing trend in convictions for violent crime during the period 1957-64, whereas the present study which covers a 14-year period up to 1969 reveals a significant increase in convictions for violent offences.

Levels of statistical significance ($P < 5.0\%$, 1.0% , 0.1%) are shown in the tables. The statement " $P < 5.0\%$ " indicates that it is unlikely that the differences observed between the groups could be ascribed to chance. When " P " is less than 1.0 percent, it is very unlikely that the observed differences could be due to chance, and if " P " is less than 0.1 percent it is almost certain that they could not be due to chance. When no level is given the observed differences are regarded as being due to chance.

Overall, there has been a significant increase ($P < 0.1\%$)‡ in convictions for violent offences. When examined separately, however, only two offence categories showed statistically significant increases—common assault and wounding with intent. Female convictions for violent offending and convictions in certain age groups also showed significant increases.

There are three sections in this chapter. In the first an analysis is made of each type of offence; in the second the rate of convictions for females is examined; and in the third convictions for violent offending

*See appendix I for a description of these offences.

†"Crime in New Zealand", Govt. Printer, Wellington (1968).

‡This implies that there is less than one possibility in 1,000 that the increase is a chance fluctuation.

are studied by ethnic group and age groups. Each section is accompanied by graphs in which the points illustrate the rate of conviction for each year and the regression line shows the direction of the trend for convictions through the years. The "t" test has been used to assess whether the trends are statistically significant or whether they could be due to chance fluctuations.

In the following analysis "convictions only" for violent offences are used and it must be remembered that the number of offenders convicted is only a proportion of violent offenders. As Radzinowicz has said: "An offence may never be identified as such; if identified, it may never be reported; if reported, the offender may never be discovered; if discovered, adequate legal proof may not be forthcoming; proof being supplied, the offender may not be apprehended; and when apprehended he may still be acquitted on a technicality."*

Analysis of Each Type of Offence

Description of the Data Source

The data used in this analysis were obtained from "Statistics of Justice"[†]—distinct cases, convictions of males only in the Supreme and Magistrates' Courts, and from mean population estimates for each year.

In "distinct cases" only the most serious charge for which a person was convicted at one Court appearance is coded, whereas "total charges" include every offence for which there has been a conviction. Distinct cases rather than total charges have been used because they are an indication of the number of persons convicted.

The coding of offence categories in "Justice Statistics" changed in 1965. As information pertaining to violent offences was extracted prior to, during, and after that year for the calculation of conviction rates and trends, the changes in coding will be described. These changes and their effects upon the calculation of trends were examined before doing the analyses.

Prior to 1965, conviction for "resisting, obstructing, or assaulting the police" which had been charged under the Crimes Act and not under the Police Offences Act, and the few convictions for that offence in the Supreme Court were included in the category "aggravated assault". From 1965 all convictions for "resisting, obstructing, or assaulting the police" were coded in the category so defined.

*Sir Leon Radzinowicz, L.L.D. Preface to "Robbery in London" (1961).

†A Department of Statistics publication of figures for convictions.

This offence is not being examined in this report, but table 1 is included to show the effect that reclassifying the categories can have on the raw figures. There was a marked rise in the number of convictions from 1964 to 1965.

TABLE 1—Number of Convictions for Resisting, Obstructing, or Assaulting Police—Magistrates' and Children's Courts, Male and Female

Year				Year			
Distinct Cases				Distinct Cases			
1961	..	..	186	1965	..	..	349
1962	..	..	165	1966	..	..	425
1963	..	..	193	1967	..	..	530
1964	..	..	196	1968	..	..	528

The category "resisting, obstructing, or assaulting the police" before 1965 included cases of assault on bailiffs. After 1965 these offences were coded in the category "common assault".

Before 1965 "assault on a female or child" was included in the category "common assault". From 1965 it has been coded separately. In the following analysis both types of offence have been combined for the years 1965–69 so that the rate for the latter years is comparable with the rate for "common assault" in the years 1956–64. Although convictions for "assault on a female" have been included in the calculation of the trend for convictions for "common assault", the rate of the former has not contributed to the increase in the rate of the latter, since a regression line was calculated for convictions for "assault on a female" and found not to be significant.

Results

The graphs reveal a noticeable fluctuation in convictions for all offences over the 14-year period. For example, the high incidence of convictions for rape in 1961 (fig. 8), due to a large number of gang rapes, has not been repeated since that year.

Because of the marked annual fluctuation, statistical techniques had to be used so that meaningful conclusions about trends could be drawn. The graphs (fig. 1 to 8) show clearly the relation between the actual rate for each year and the statistically calculated "average"—the regression line.

Figs. 1 (all offences combined) and 2 (common assault and assault on a female) are on a different scale from the other graphs. This is because these graphs are dealing with rates between 100 and 300 per 100,000 population, whereas figs. 3 to 8 deal with rates that are less than 10 per 100,000 population. Common assault accounts for about 90 percent of all violent offences, all the other categories making up the remaining 10 percent.

**RATES OF CONVICTION FOR VIOLENT OFFENCES
1956-69—CONVICTIONS PER 100,000 MALE POPULATION
AGED 15-59 YEARS—SUPREME AND MAGISTRATES'
COURTS—DISTINCT CASES—CONVICTIONS ONLY**

Figure 1: All Violent Offences

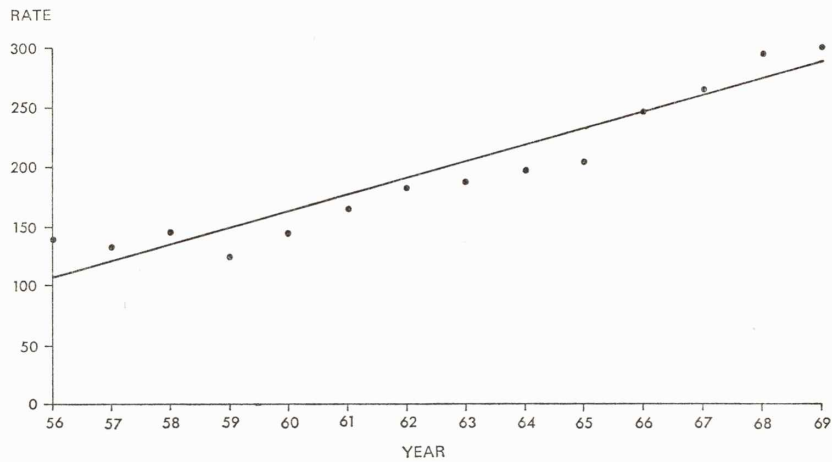


Figure 2: Common Assault Including Assault on Female

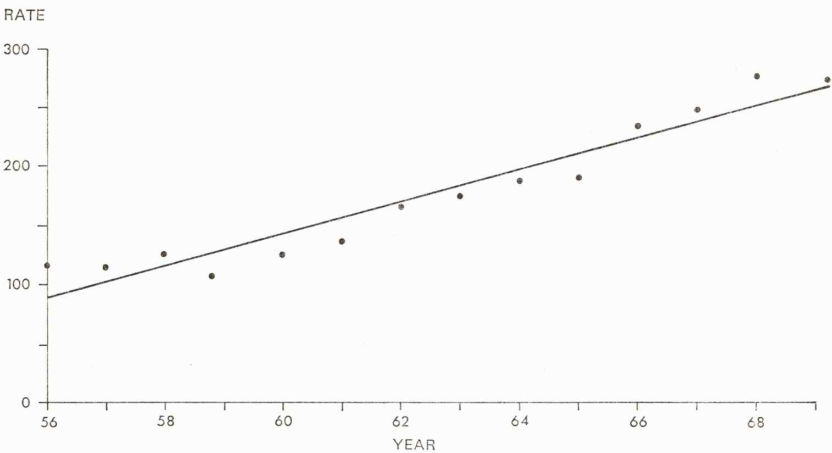


Figure 3: Aggravated Assault

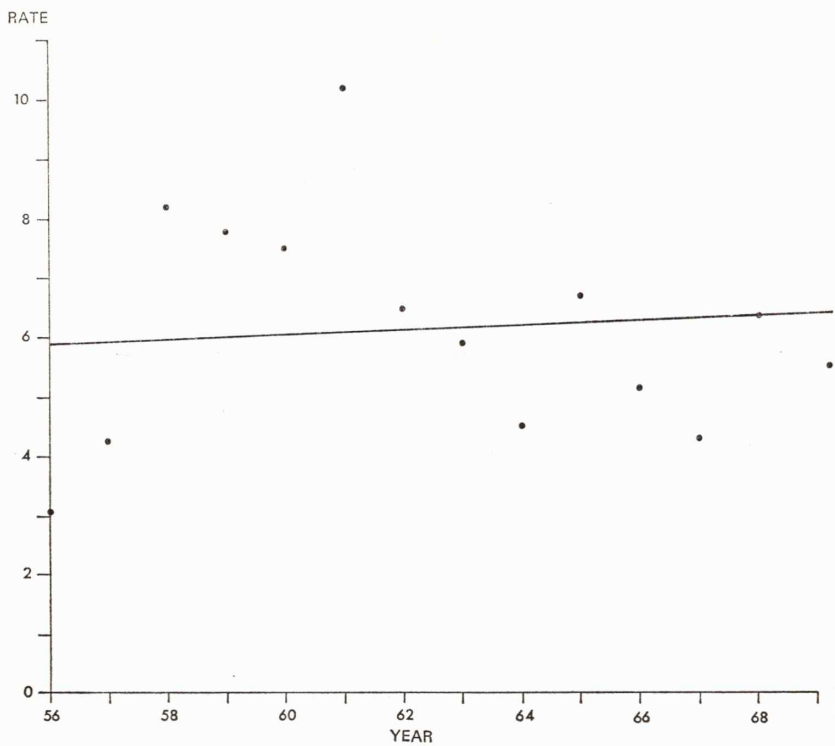


Figure 4: Robbery

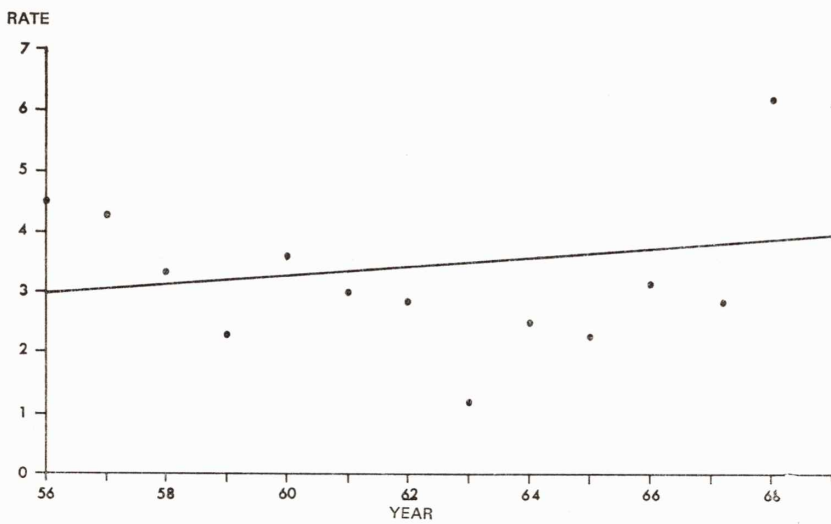


Figure 5: Aggravated Robbery

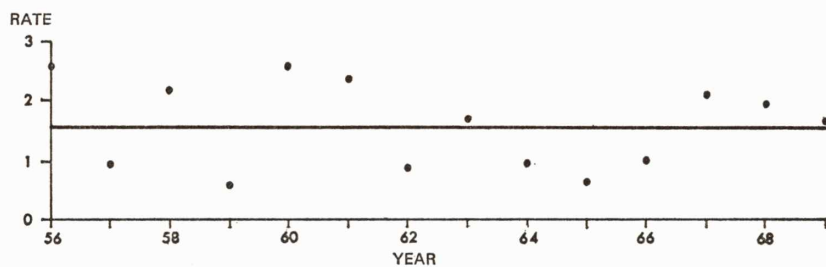


Figure 6: Wounding with Intent

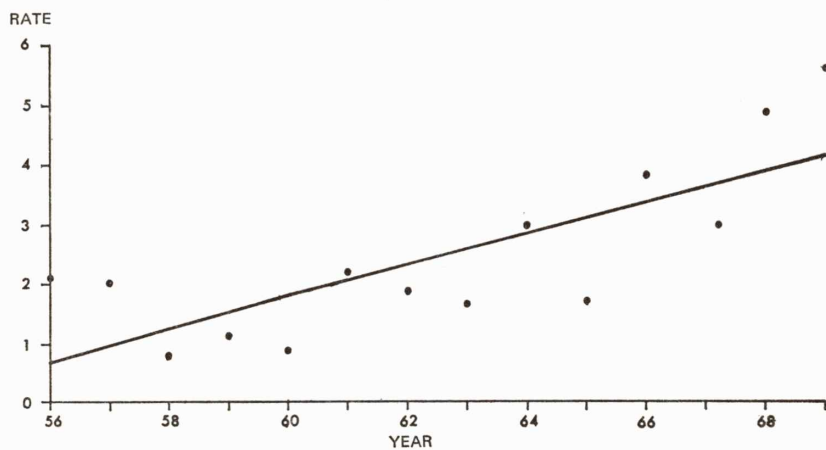


Figure 7: Attempted Rape

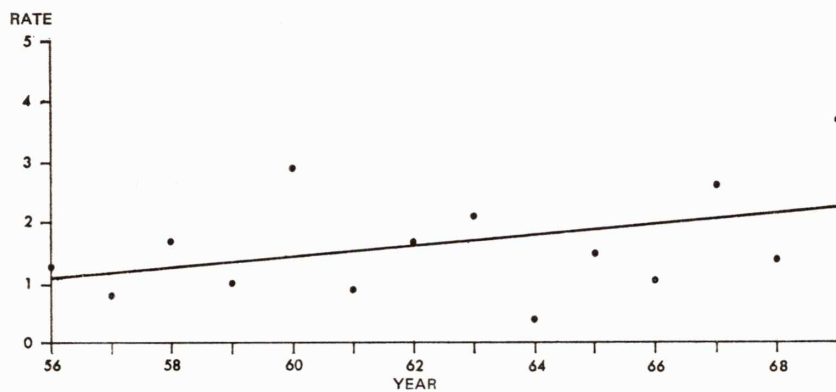


Figure 8: Rape

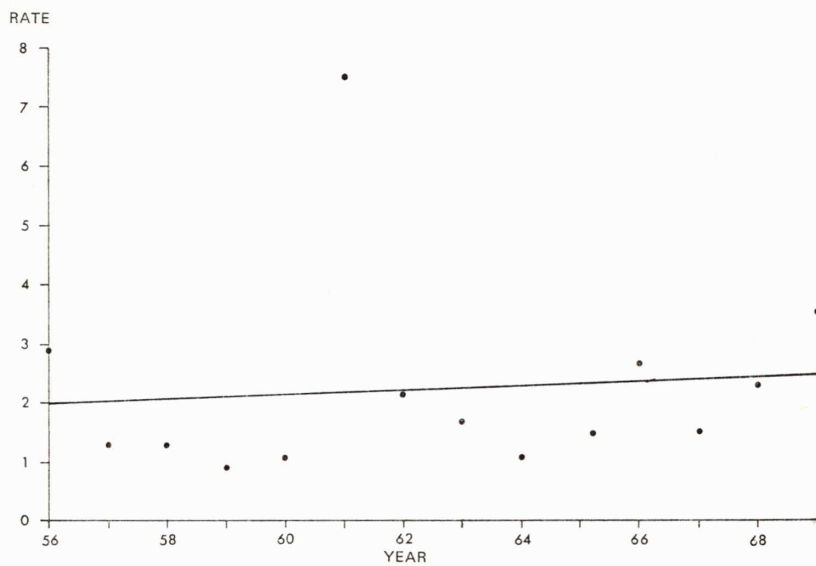


Table 2 gives the average yearly increase in the rate for each category. The overall average annual increase of 14 per 100,000 population was accounted for almost entirely by the increase in the rates of conviction for common assault.

TABLE 2—Average Yearly Increase in Rate for Each Category of Violent Offence

Offence	Figure	Average Yearly Increase in Rate	P
Common assault (including assault on a female) ..	2	13.6	<0.1%
Aggravated assault	3	0.0	N.S.
Robbery	4	0.1	N.S.
Aggravated robbery	5	0.0	N.S.
Wounding with intent	6	0.3	<0.1%
Attempted rape	7	0.1	N.S.
Rape	8	0.0	N.S.
All offences combined	1	14.1	<0.1%

The column headed "P" gives the probability that the increase could have been due to chance fluctuations. Thus, the probability that the increase in the rate of common assault, wounding with intent, and all offences combined, could have been due to chance was less than 1 in 1,000, and we conclude, therefore, that the increase rising from about 100 to 280 per 100,000 population is a significant one. The increase of 0.3 in the rate of wounding with intent may seem small, but relative to the small numbers involved the increase is a very marked one, the rate having risen from about 1 to 4 per 100,000 population. None of the other categories showed any statistically significant increase, hence the letters "N.S."

Because the above analysis uses figures for convictions it provides only an approximation of the increase in incidence of violent crimes. The police figures for "crimes reported", since many of these result in "no offence disclosed" (see appendix II, table 1), do not provide a true account of the incidence of violent crimes but the increase in figures for crimes reported is of interest.

From the "Annual Report of the New Zealand Police", figures were obtained for the reported incidence of these crimes. For most offences there was a fluctuation during the years 1956-68 in the number of incidents reported. "Aggravated assault" and "assault on females" showed steady increases in the number reported from 1966. "Common assault" revealed a steady increase from 1961 as shown in the following table.

TABLE 3—Offences of Common Assault Reported to the Police 1961–1969

Year			Number	Rate	Year			Number	Rate
1961	..	..	2,371	350.06	1966	..	..	3,915	518.88
1962	..	..	2,545	365.47	1967	..	..	4,186	546.45
1963	..	..	2,837	398.46	1968	..	..	4,673	605.29
1964	..	..	3,003	412.06	1969	..	..	4,780	613.14
1965	..	..	3,710	498.27					

The average annual increase in offences of common assault reported to the police was 36.25 reported offences per 100,000 male and female population aged 15 to 59 years. This increase was statistically significant at the 0.1 percent level.

Analysis of Female Violent Offending

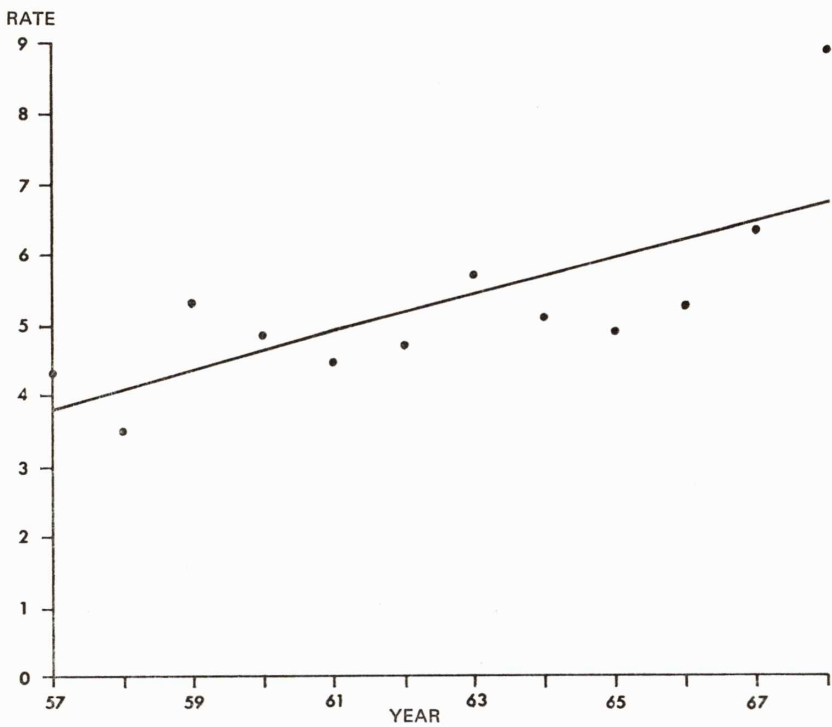
The number of females convicted for violent offences has increased. Table 4 shows the number of distinct cases and rate for females convicted of common assault, aggravated assault, robbery, aggravated robbery, and wounding with intent.

TABLE 4—Rate for Females Convicted of Violent Offences in Supreme and Magistrates' Courts 1957–68 per 100,000 Population (16–59 Years)

Year			Distinct Cases	Rate	Year			Distinct Cases	Rate
1957	..	..	26	4.37	1963	..	..	38	5.73
1958	..	..	21	3.46	1964	..	..	35	5.15
1959	..	..	33	5.37	1965	..	..	34	4.89
1960	..	..	30	4.82	1966	..	..	37	5.23
1961	..	..	28	4.44	1967	..	..	46	6.39
1962	..	..	30	4.64	1968	..	..	65	8.91

Despite the fluctuation in conviction rates evident in fig. 9, there has been a steady and significant increase overall in the conviction rates for female violent offending ($P < 1.0\%$). The average annual increase was 0.27 convictions per 100,000 female population.

Figure 9: Rates of Conviction for Female Violent Offences 1957-68, Convictions per 100,000 Female Population Aged 16-59 Years—Supreme and Magistrates' Courts Distinct Cases—Convictions Only



Analysis of Violent Offending by Ethnic Group and Age Group

Description of the Data Source

The data were obtained from tables for "Magistrates' Courts, distinct cases, arrest cases, convictions only"*. (Ethnic group of the offender is not noted in summons cases.) The analysis depends upon the percentage of convictions for each offence which were arrest cases. In 1968, 77.6 percent of convictions in the Magistrates' Courts for violent offences were arrest cases. The proportion varied according to type of offence as shown in table 5.

TABLE 5—Percentage of Convictions which were Arrest Cases in each Type of Offence (Magistrate's Court, Distinct Cases, Convictions, Males only, 1968)

Offence				Arrest Cases (Percent)
Common assault	..	..	..	75.9
Aggravated assault	..	..	..	97.5
Robbery	..	..	..	100.0
Aggravated robbery	..	..	..	100.0
Wounding with intent	..	..	..	85.2
Assault on female	..	..	..	90.3

For most offences information about ethnic group is complete, or nearly complete. Common assault, for which offence only three-quarters of the convictions were arrest cases, rape, and attempted rape (all cases heard in the Supreme Court) are the exceptions. As all convictions could not be included, the analysis by ethnic group and age is limited.

Classification of an offender by ethnic group in "Justice Statistics" and probation reports is done either on visual evidence or the self-reporting of the offender. It has been found that persons who are less than half Maori have been classified, or have been willing to classify themselves, as Maoris in the Courts. They may not do so, however, in the census, and estimates of the New Zealand Maori population are based on census data. Because, therefore, of possible discrepancies in the data, caution is advised in interpreting these figures.

The following analysis covers a 6-year period only. (Prior to 1963 figures given for arrest cases, ethnic group and age were "total persons charged" and not "convictions only".)

An increase in Maori population during the latter years in the age groups responsible for the greatest offending would mean that more Maori persons were "at risk" for offending in these years, thereby heightening the conviction rates. Age specific rates have therefore been calculated.

*"Statistics of Justice". (See tables 27 and 29 in 1968.)

Results

The Maori and non-Maori rates are shown in the following table:

TABLE 6—Rate of Conviction for Violent Offences per 1,000 Male Population by Ethnic Group and Age Group

Year	Maori Males				All Age Groups	Non-Maori Males				All Age Groups	
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30+		16-19	20-24	25-29	30+		
1963	..	5.89	11.34	7.69	3.50	5.94	1.13	1.97	1.56	.63	.96
1964	..	4.72	9.96	6.87	3.32	5.26	1.41	2.33	1.78	.80	1.18
1965	..	8.11	15.57	8.99	5.06	7.96	1.32	2.70	1.56	.63	1.10
1966	..	11.88	17.91	11.40	5.71	9.70	2.23	2.89	1.61	.81	1.37
1967	..	8.38	11.76	6.13	4.30	6.54	3.12	3.75	2.56	1.00	1.84
1968	..	14.77	25.96	15.90	6.63	12.74	2.62	3.55	1.93	.83	1.58

The Maori rate of conviction for violent offences is much higher than the non-Maori. In both ethnic groups the age group 20-24 years has the highest rate of conviction.

TABLE 7—Results of Statistical Analysis of Violent Offending By Ethnic Group and Age Group 1963-68

Age Groups			Maoris		Non-Maoris	
			Average Annual Increase	P	Average Annual Increase	P
16-19	..	..	1.69	5.0%	0.39	5.0%
20-24	..	..	2.31	N.S.	0.35	1.0%
25-29	..	..	1.18	N.S.	0.12	N.S.
30+	..	..	0.55	N.S.	0.05	N.S.
16-59	..	..	1.13	N.S.	0.15	5.0%

Inspection of the graphs (figs. 10 to 19) reveals that in every age group the conviction rates for Maoris fluctuate to a much greater extent than do the non-Maori rates.

**RATES OF CONVICTION FOR VIOLENT OFFENCES BY
ETHNIC GROUP AND AGE GROUPS, CONVICTIONS PER
1,000 MALE POPULATION AGED 16-59 YEARS—MAGIS-
TRATE'S COURT, DISTINCT CASES, ARREST CASES—
CONVICTIONS ONLY**

Figure 10: Maori Males Aged 16-59

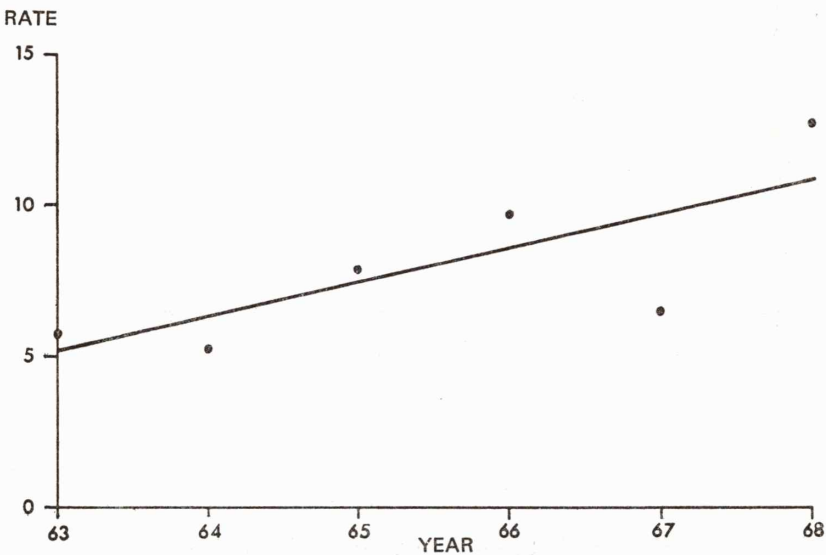


Figure 11: Non-Maori Males Aged 16-59

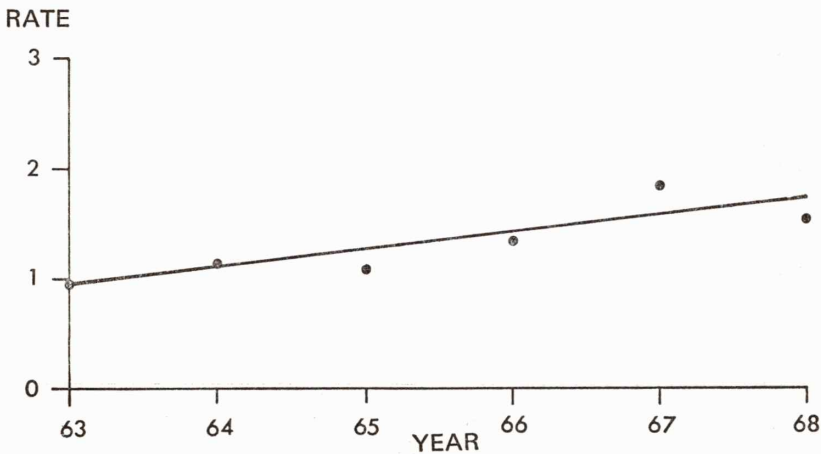


Figure 12: Maori Males Aged 16-19

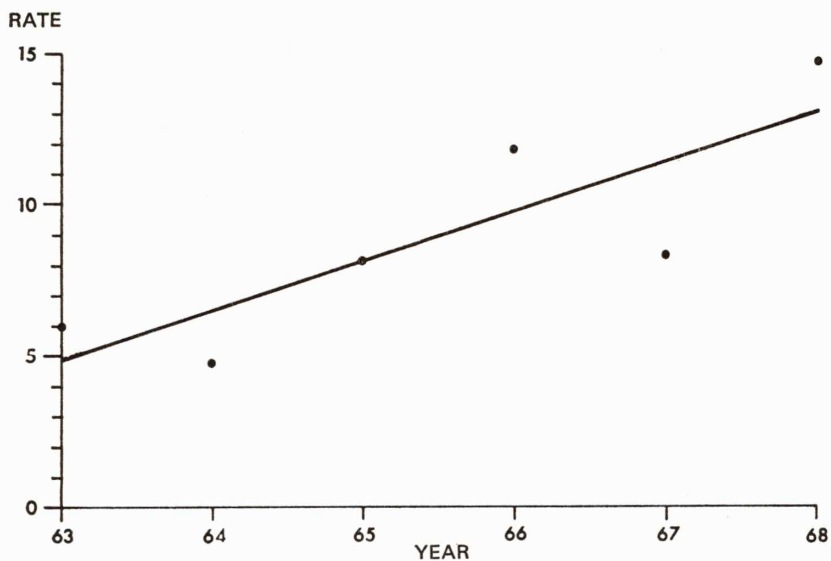


Figure 13: Non-Maori Males Aged 16-19

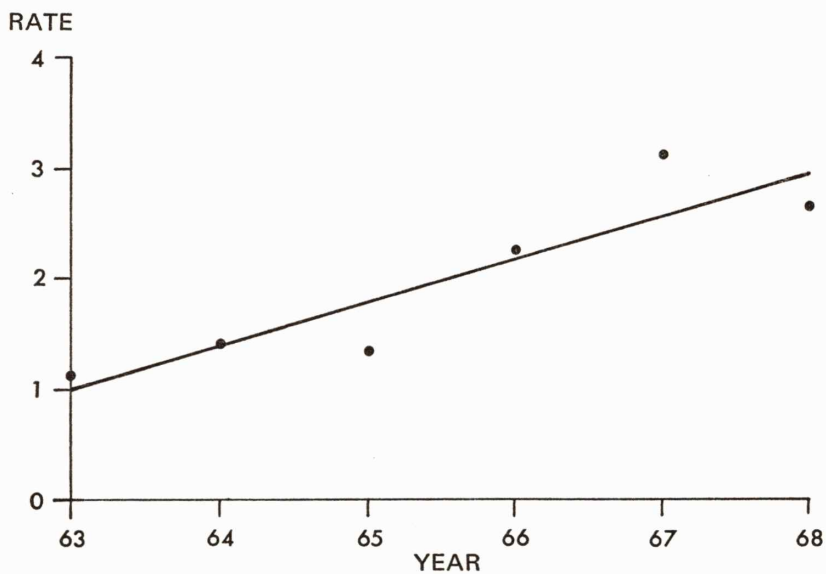


Figure 14: Maori Males Aged 20-24

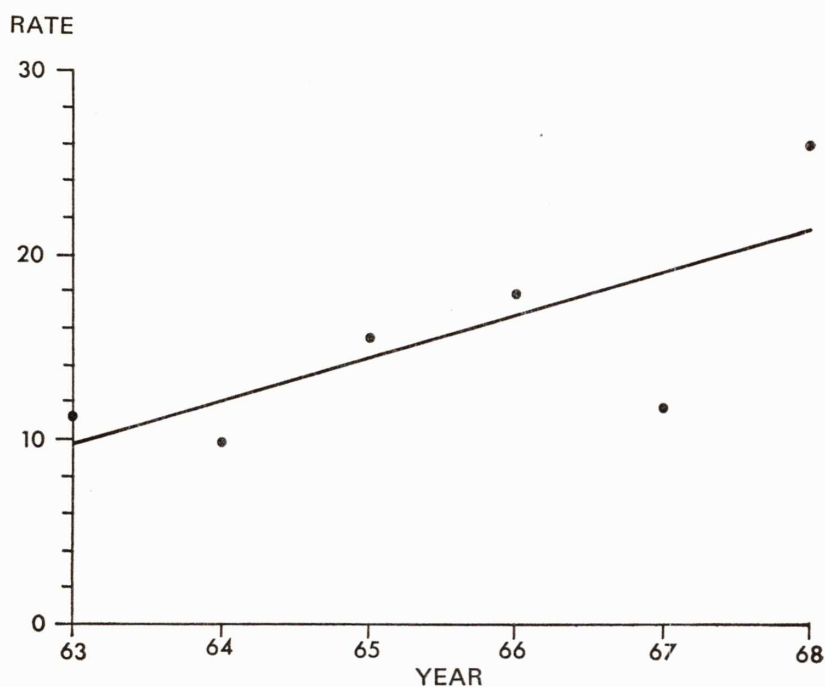


Figure 15: Non-Maori Males Aged 20-24

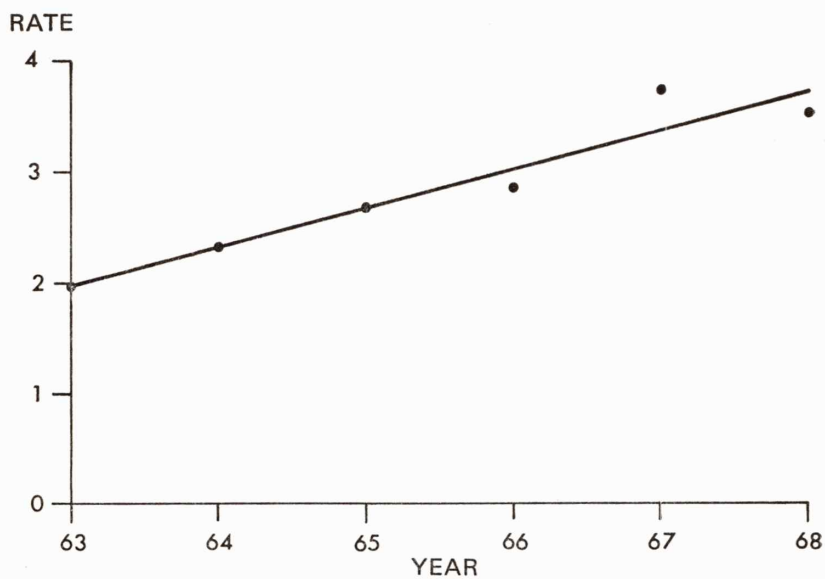


Figure 16: Maori Males Aged 25-29

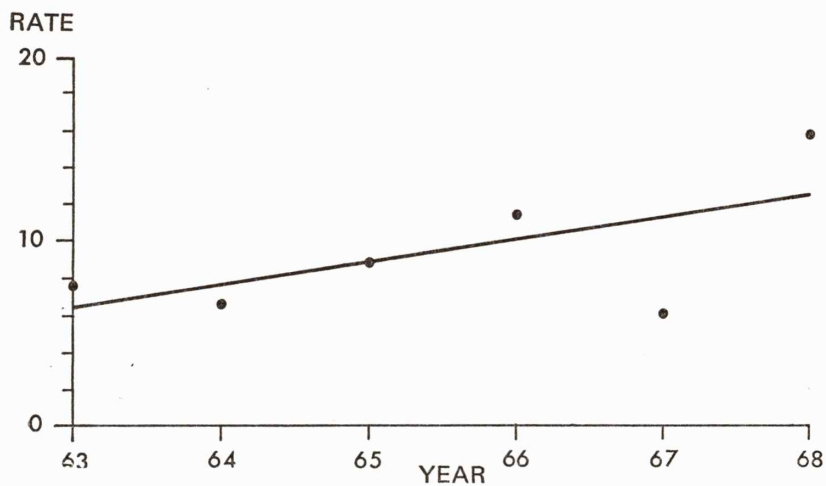


Figure 17: Non-Maori Males Aged 25-29

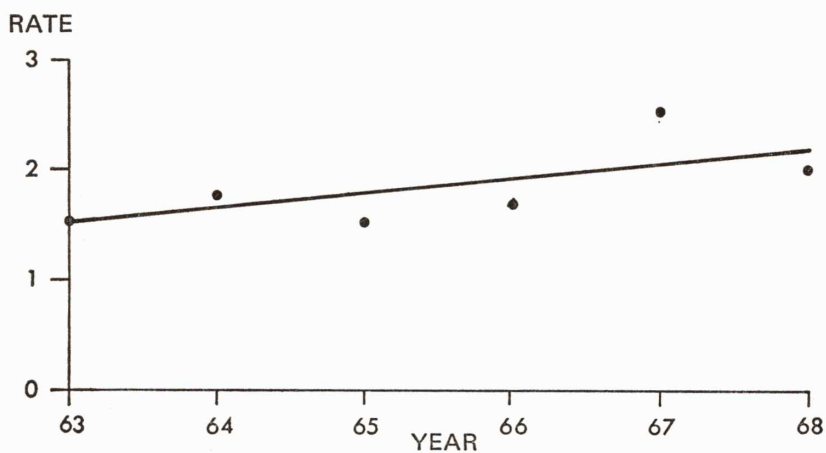


Figure 18: Maori Males Aged 30+

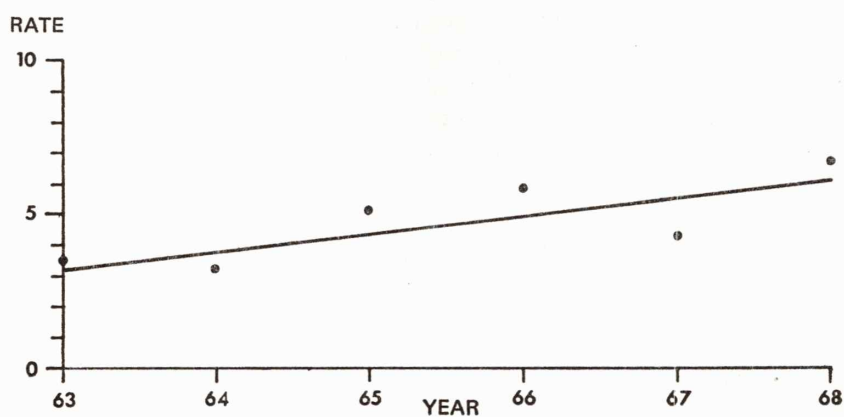
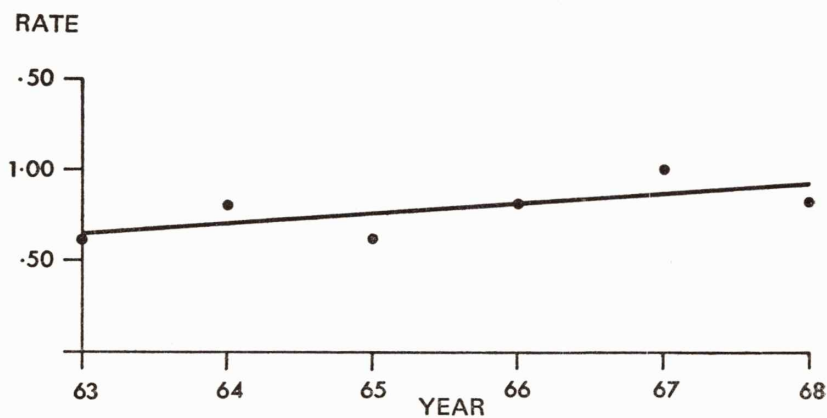


Figure 19: Non-Maori Males Aged 30+



There are only six points on each graph, and this, taken together with the wide scatter of points about the line (e.g., fig. 14) shows an increase to be non-significant even though the rate has more than doubled over the period, e.g., the rate for Maori males aged 20–24 years increased from 11.34 in 1963 to 25.96 in 1968 with an average yearly increase of 2.31, but the rates actually decreased in 1964 and 1967. With fluctuations such as these, records for more years are needed to enable a statement to be made with any confidence that the increase was a real one. On the other hand, the increase in the rate for non-Maori males aged 20–24 years was less than double (from 1.97 to 3.55) with an average yearly increase of 0.35. Although the non-Maori increase for the total period was not as great as that of the Maori, the points lie very close to the line (fig. 15), and it can be asserted with confidence that the increase in non-Maori violent offending was significant.

For all age groups the Maori rate every year was several times higher than that for the non-Maori. But because of the relatively short period of the study, and because of the wide fluctuations in the rates, it is uncertain whether or not the proportion of Maori rates to non-Maori rates is changing. For example, in table 6 it can be seen that the Maori rate in 1963 was 5.94 and the non-Maori 0.96, a factor of 6 to 1; in 1967 the respective figures were 6.54 and 1.84, a factor of only 3.5 to 1; while in 1968 the figures were 12.74 and 1.58, a factor of 8 to 1.

SUMMARY

The above analysis has shown that the Maori male conviction rate is higher in every age group than the non-Maori.

Within the age group 16–19 years both Maori and non-Maori convictions show a significantly increasing trend. Within the age group 20–24 years only non-Maori convictions show a significant increase (table 7).

The overall increase in convictions, i.e., every age group combined, during the period 1963–68 is statistically significant for non-Maori males but not for Maori males.

This chapter has also shown that convictions for violent offending for females have significantly increased during the period 1956–68, and that convictions for common assault and wounding with intent during the period 1956–69 exhibit significantly increasing trends.

CHAPTER 2

A Sample of Violent Offenders

In this chapter some social characteristics of a sample of violent offenders are examined.

Selection of the Sample

1. The selection comprised males who in 1968 committed one of the eight violent offences listed in table 1. Some of these were convicted in 1969. Only offenders convicted in the Supreme and Magistrates' Courts were included.

2. Offenders' names were taken from the *Police Gazette*, a weekly publication which lists convictions in New Zealand Courts. Detailed information about each offender was obtained from his probation report presented to the Court at the time of sentencing, and from penal reports when an offender had been imprisoned. Offenders who had no probation report were excluded from the sampling frame because of lack of information.

3. Three offence categories—common assault, robbery, and assault on a female—contained larger numbers of convicted males than did the other offence categories and a sample was accordingly selected from these three categories. The other five categories are complete taking into account the non-availability of reports on some offenders.

Table 1 shows the distribution of offence types in the sample.

TABLE 1—The Sample of Violent Offenders

Offence Category				Sample Coded	
				Number	Percent
Common assault	..	..	..	59	31.4
Aggravated assault	..	..	..	33	17.6
Robbery	..	..	..	10	5.3
Aggravated robbery	..	..	..	12	6.4
Wounding with intent	..	..	..	30	16.0
Assault on female	..	..	..	17	9.0
Attempted rape	..	..	..	10	5.3
Rape	..	..	..	17	9.0
				188	100.0

Differences between the types of violent offender will be shown where relevant. Since there are few convictions each year in New Zealand for most of the violent offences, it is difficult to obtain a

large enough sample to study one offence only. Enclosing the varied types of offender in one category—violent offending—has its drawbacks, but provided the differences between offences are not ignored it is the only way an adequate sample can be assembled. By covering only 1 year's convictions any contingent variables such as changes in legislation and changing social attitudes are avoided.

Thirty-two of the 188 cases included in this study were dealt with summarily. They included 24 cases of common assault and 8 cases of assault on a female.

In some categories to be examined in the next two chapters, not all the information was available, hence the tables do not always total 188.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE OFFENDERS

Age

There were 74 violent offenders in the age group 20–24 years, more than in any other age group. Fifty-five offenders were under 20 and 59 over 24. There was one offence category, however, in which most offenders were over 24 years of age. That was assault on a female where 25 percent of the offenders were in fact over 40 years of age.

A comparison of the proportion in each age category can be made between the New Zealand population and the sample of violent offenders. Table 2 shows that up to 29 years of age the number of violent offenders is greater than would be expected on a population basis.

TABLE 2—Percentage of the New Zealand Male Population and Violent Offenders in each Age Category (1966 Census Population Figures)

Age Groups				N.Z. Male Population	Violent Offenders
16–19	..	..	..	12.8	29.3
20–24	..	..	..	12.6	39.4
25–29	..	..	..	10.9	13.3
30–34	..	..	..	9.9	7.3
35–39	..	..	..	10.9	4.3
40–64	..	..	..	42.9	6.4
				<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

Marital Status

Of the 180 offenders for whom information about marital status was available, 114 were single, 47 were either married or living in a *de facto* relationship, and 19 were separated. These proportions can be compared with 1966 census data in table 3 which shows that single and separated persons are present in greater proportions in the sample than they are in the population.

TABLE 3—Marital Status in the New Zealand Male Population and the Sample of Violent Offenders

Marital Status				N.Z. Male Population	Violent Offenders
Single	..	..	..	53.4	63.3
Married	..	..	..	43.3	26.1
Separated	..	..	..	0.5	10.6
Widowed	..	..	..	2.1	..
Divorced	..	..	..	0.7	..
				<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

Ethnic Group

The difficulty in defining Maori origin has been discussed*. Eighty-four (44 percent) of the offenders had been classified as half Maori or more and 10 had "some Maori" origin. The two groups were combined for analysis by ethnic origin. Seventy-five offenders were New Zealand Europeans, eight were Pacific Islanders, two were Australian, and six were European immigrants. Maori males who comprise 6 percent of the New Zealand adult male population and Pacific Islanders who comprise about 1 percent are overrepresented in the sample.

Family Background

Among the 184 offenders for whom information about family size was known, 122 (66 percent) came from families with 5 or more children and 49 (27 percent) came from families with 10 or more children; 45 percent of the Maori offenders came from families with 10 or more children. Comparable details of completed family size in the general population will not be available until the 1971 census results are published.

There is no information about child rearing conditions for the general population. This study revealed that 112 of the offenders (60 percent) had lived during their childhood with both natural parents, 38 with 1 or other parent, 20 with other relatives, and 17 offenders had been reared by statutory agencies or foster parents.

Forty-one offenders (22 percent) had been subjected to physical violence in their childhood. This proportion is a conservative figure as not all probation reports provided information about childhood experiences. It is not known how this proportion compares with this factor in the general population.

**Supra.* p. 21.

Migration

One of the most significant movements of a population in modern times has occurred in New Zealand with the migration of Maoris from rural to urban areas. In 1945 the proportion of the total Maori population living in the 18 main urban areas was 15 percent. By 1966 this figure had risen to 41 percent and the 1971 census is expected to indicate an even more marked acceleration of this trend. Most movement has occurred between the ages of 16 and 24 years.

In this study it was found that 50 percent, or 88 of the 176 New Zealand born offenders for whom information about birthplace was known, were born in the cities (population over 20,000). But 148 offenders (84 percent) committed their offences in these areas.

Sixty-seven of the 88 offenders born in non-urban areas (76 percent) had migrated to the city before committing their offences. Most movement towards cities occurred among Maoris (who were more likely to be rural-born than Europeans) in the 16-19 year age group.

The inclusion in the 1971 census of a question about internal migration will enable researchers to see how the mobility patterns found among offenders compare with those of the population as a whole. At present, there is no information for the general population with which to compare the migratory proportion of 76 percent revealed in this study. This percentage may be simply a reflection of the current movement from rural to urban areas of the general population, particularly Maoris, rather than a significant characteristic of violent offenders.

Intelligence

This factor was measured by the Raven Progressive Matrices Test for 85 percent of the sample who had been tested while serving a penal sentence. Of the 159 offenders tested, 72 (45 percent) scored between Raven 3+ and 3-, i.e., this proportion had approximately average I.Q. levels. In the general population it is estimated that 50 percent of the population score average, 25 percent below, and 25 percent above average. In this sample, 64 offenders (40 percent) scored below average, and 23 (15 percent) above average. These offenders on the whole had a lower I.Q. level than the general population.

Education

The age cohorts in the sample cover too wide a range with numbers that are too small to adequately compare the proportion who left school at certain levels of attainment with proportions in the New

Zealand population. Of the 182 offenders for whom information about level of attainment was available, 37 (20 percent) left school at the primary level and a further 111 (61 percent) before Form V. Thirty-two offenders left school at the Form V level, seven of them with School Certificate and two offenders had gained University Entrance.

Occupational History

Only three offenders were reported as having been consistently unemployed, and information about the number of previous jobs was not available for seven cases. Of the remaining 178 offenders, 134 (75 percent) had been employed in 5 or more jobs, 73 offenders (41 percent) in 10 or more jobs.

"Unemployment" is referred to by McClintock as a euphemism for professional crime*. Although care should be taken in using such a comment in the New Zealand context where organised crime is not comparable with that of large cities overseas, 20.7 percent of the violent offenders were unemployed in a year when the registered unemployment rate was less than 1 percent. Unemployment varied according to type of offence, ranging from 11.9 percent among offenders convicted of common assault to 58.3 percent in aggravated robbery. It is possible that the unemployment status of so many offenders convicted of robbery was a precipitating factor in their criminal offending.

Alcohol

Alcohol has been called the "lubricant of violence". It is undoubtedly an element in many domestic disputes and hotel brawls. The relationship between alcohol and violent offending requires further study to compare it with consumption of alcohol and no offending at all. In this study, 106 (56 percent) of the offenders were reported as having consumed an intoxicating amount of alcohol at the time of committing their offences.

Group Offending

Information about this factor was available for 180 offenders, of whom 87 (48 percent) had committed their offences in a group, i.e., 2 or more persons. Table 4 shows the significant relationship between age of offender and group offending.

*McClintock, "Robbery in London", p. 58.

TABLE 4—Age of Offender by Group Offence

Age of Offender			Group Offence	Non-group Offence	Percent Group Offence
Up to 24 years	..	..	74	49	60·2
25 years plus ..	..	..	13	44	22·8
			—	—	
			87	93	
			—	—	

$P < 0·1\%$

Offenders under 24 years of age were more likely to have committed their offences in a group than older offenders. Some offences are less likely to be committed in a group, for example, assault on a female arising from a domestic dispute. It has already been noted that most of the offenders convicted of this offence were in the older age groups.

Previous Convictions

Only 34 (18 percent) of the offenders had no previous convictions. Of the 32 cases dealt with summarily, 10 had no previous convictions and the rest had up to 4 previous convictions. Of the 122 offenders who had previous convictions and who were not dealt with summarily, 93 (76 percent) had 5 or more previous convictions.

Of the 154 offenders with previous convictions, 63 (41 percent) had come to police notice before the age of 16 years. An additional 67 (44 percent) first came to police notice before the age of 20 years.

Eighty of the 154 offenders (52 percent) had previously committed at least 1 of the 8 offences in this study. The remaining 48 percent had committed other offences against property, good order, or traffic regulations. Previous offences against property had been committed by 124 offenders in the sample.

Of the 59 offenders who committed common assault in 1968, 22 had been previously convicted for the same offence. An additional 35 offenders who had been previously convicted for common assault graduated to more serious violent offending in 1968.

Some type of institution, such as a child welfare home, detention centre, borstal, and/or prison had been experienced by 91 (48 percent) of the offenders. The majority of these (70 out of 91) had been in borstal or prison.

The indication is that violent offenders have an extensive history of criminal offending.

Representation by Counsel

In New Zealand, all indigent defendants are entitled to apply to the presiding Magistrate for legal aid, i.e., Court-appointed representation. It is incumbent upon the defendant to make the request for

assistance and he may or may not be aware of his rights in this matter. Magistrates and Registrars of the Courts have the power to advise defendants of this right, but because their power is discretionary there is no way of gauging how often it is used, or under what circumstances.

Whether the offender was represented by counsel was not known in 43 cases. Of the remaining 145 cases, 54 offenders (37 percent) were not represented, a large proportion for such serious crimes. Table 5 shows the relationship between representation and ethnic group.

TABLE 5—Counsel Representation by Ethnic Group

	Counsel	No Counsel	Percent Counsel
Maori	31	39	44.3
N.Z. European	52	8	86.7
	<hr/> 83	<hr/> 47	
		P < 0.1%	

Maoris were significantly less likely than Europeans to be represented by counsel.

It has been stated that because of the welfare policy of the Maori and Island Affairs Department and the development of Court aid committees, Maoris have an opportunity for representation for which Europeans are not eligible. Finding counsel for Maori offenders, however, is only a small part of a welfare officer's duties. There are at present 88 Maori welfare officers in New Zealand, 85 of them in the North Island. There are 19 officers in Auckland and 11 in Wellington. Even when one officer has been appointed to Court duty, which is not always the case, it is not possible for him to cover the several Courts sitting at one time in the large centres.

The welfare officers depend on the police to notify them of Maori youths being charged, and then welfare officers are concerned with first and second offenders only.

Although, theoretically, it would appear that Maori offenders have a better opportunity for counsel representation, it is apparent that this is not the case in practice.

Offender's Plea

The plea was not known in 12 cases, and 148 of the known 176 cases pleaded guilty. Table 6 shows the relationship between plea and representation by counsel.

TABLE 6—Offender's Plea by Counsel Representation

			Pleaded Guilty	Pleaded Not Guilty	Percent Guilty
Had counsel ..	..	..	61	26	70.0
Had no counsel ..	..	..	51	2	96.0
			112	28	
					P < 0.1%

Offenders who pleaded guilty were significantly less likely to have counsel. Among the 75 New Zealand European offenders, 55 (73 percent) pleaded guilty compared to 79 of the 94 Maori offenders (84 percent). With a greater proportion of Maoris pleading guilty and fewer having representation there is, of course, a greater likelihood of Maoris being convicted.

Penalties Imposed by the Court

Of the 32 cases in the sample coded separately as "summary terminations", 20 received fines and 12 were ordered to come up if called upon. Table 7 shows the penalties imposed for each type of offence in the remainder of the sample.

TABLE 7—Penalties Imposed for each Offence (Excluding Summary Terminations)

Offence			No. in Sample	Probation Periodic Detention	Detention Borstal Training	Imprison- ment < 1 year	Imprison- ment 1 year +
Common assault	..	..	35	19	6	9	1
Aggravated assault	..	..	32	3	4	12	13
Robbery	..	..	10	..	3	3	4
Aggravated robbery	..	..	12	1	2	..	9
Wounding with intent	..	..	31	6	6	14	5
Assault on female	..	..	9	3	1	2	3
Attempted rape	..	..	10	..	3	2	5
Rape	..	..	17	1	3	..	13
			156	33	28	42	53

As might be expected, a greater proportion of lesser penalties were given for common assault, whereas three-quarters of those convicted of aggravated robbery and rape were given sentences of over 1 year's imprisonment.

Table 8 shows the relationship between previous institutional experience and an institutional penalty for the 1968 offence.

TABLE 8—Previous Institutional Experience by Penalty Imposed

	Penalty for 1968 Offence		
	Removed from Community	Remained in Community	Percent Removed from Community
Previous institutional experience . .	76	5	93·8
No previous institutional experience	47	28	62·7
	<hr/> 123	<hr/> 33	
		$P < 0·1\%$	

Offenders who had previous institutional experience were significantly more likely to be removed from the community for a further offence.

New Zealand Courts have a variety of penalties from which to choose. All the circumstances of each case, such as the number of previous convictions, previous penalties incurred, and provocation by the victim, are considered before a penalty is imposed. Although most of these violent offenders had serious records of crime, including violent crime, the maximum penalties were rarely imposed. It must be remembered that maximum penalties were devised to give the Courts room to deal with each case on its merits.

SUMMARY

A sample of male violent offenders who committed their offences in 1968, and were convicted in either the Supreme or Magistrates' Courts, was selected.

It was found that nearly 40 percent of the sample were aged between 20 and 24 years and that the proportion in each age group up to 29 years was greater than would be expected on a population basis (table 2).

Over half the offenders in the sample (53 percent) were single, and 43 percent were married. By comparison with proportions in each category of marital status in the population, single and separated persons in the sample occurred in greater number (table 3).

With 84 offenders classified as "half Maori or more", and 8 Pacific Islanders in the sample, these ethnic groups are present in greater proportions than in the general population.

Many of the offenders came from large families—66 percent from families with five or more children. Sixty percent of the sample had lived with both natural parents in their childhood, the remaining 40 percent with either one parent only, relatives, foster parents, or in institutions. Forty-one offenders were known to have been subjected to physical violence in their childhood.

Although 50 percent of the offenders had been born in the cities, 84 percent committed their offences there. Seventy-six percent of the 88 offenders born in non-urban areas had migrated to the cities.

The intelligence level of these offenders tended to be below average and only nine offenders had gained educational certificates.

Seventy-three offenders had been employed in 10 or more jobs, and at the time of committing their offences, 21 percent of the offenders were unemployed when the registered unemployment rate in New Zealand was less than 1 percent.

Table 4 indicated that offenders up to 24 years of age were more likely to commit their offences in a group than older men.

An extensive history of previous offending characterised the majority of men in the sample. Ninety-three offenders had 5 or more previous convictions, 130 had begun offending before 20 years of age, 80 had previously committed a violent offence, and 70 had previously been in borstal or prison.

Fifty-four offenders had not been represented by counsel, and 148 of the offenders pleaded guilty. Maoris were less likely than New Zealand Europeans to be represented (table 5), and offenders who pleaded guilty were less likely to have counsel (table 6).

Table 7 showed that a greater proportion of lesser penalties were given for common assault, and serious offences such as aggravated robbery and rape more frequently received sentences of over 1 year's imprisonment.

Offenders with previous institutional experience were more likely to receive another institutional sentence for the 1968 offences than those with no previous institutional experience (table 8).

CHAPTER 3

The Victims of Violent Crime

Probation reports on offenders and police summaries of offences contain scant information about the victims of crime. What information could be obtained about the victims of the sample discussed in chapter 2 is presented here.

In 18 of the 188 cases the degree of injury suffered by the victims was not known. Among 170 cases, 88 victims (52 percent) suffered minor injury, 42 (25 percent) suffered more serious injury which did not require hospitalisation, and 40 (23 percent) were hospitalised. There were no known cases in the 1968 sample of permanent disability.

Degree of injury to victims varied significantly according to the type of offence committed as shown in table 1.

TABLE 1—Degree of Injury to Victim by Type of Offence

Offence	Total	Minor Injury	More Serious	Hospitalised
Common assault	52	36	9	7
Aggravated assault	30	6	10	14
Robbery	10	5	2	3
Aggravated robbery	7	3	2	2
Wounding with intent	29	5	13	11
Assault on female	17	10	5	2
Attempted rape	10	8	1	1
Rape	15	15	..	..
	<hr/> 170	<hr/> 88	<hr/> 42	<hr/> 40

$P < 0.1\%$

As the above table shows, rape accompanied by a savage attack is rare. As Mr Justice Roper has said: "Many of the cases appear to come down to nothing more than a lack of technique and finesse."*

Where offences were committed in a group the victim of violence was more likely to suffer greater harm than when he or she had been attacked by a lone offender.

TABLE 2—Degree of Injury to Victim by Group Offence

	Not Hospitalised	Hospitalised	Percent Hospitalised
Group offence	51	27	34.6
Not group offence	77	12	13.5
	<hr/> 128	<hr/> 39	

$P < 1.0\%$

*Mr Justice Roper. Speech to the Royal Society, Wellington, 25 May 1970.

Table 2 shows that the majority of victims of group offenders were not hospitalised, but they were more likely to be hospitalised than victims of lone offenders.

The following table shows that penalties imposed on offenders varied according to the degree of injury sustained by their victims.

TABLE 3—Degree of Injury to Victim by Penalty Imposed for Offence

Penalty	Total	Minor Injury	More Serious	Hospitalised
Prison for 1 year or more	45	25	5	15
Prison up to 1 year	69	33	21	15
Borstal training/detention centre ..	25	11	9	5
Periodic detention/probation ..	31	19	7	5
	<hr/> 170	<hr/> 88	<hr/> 42	<hr/> 40
		<hr/> P < 1.0%		

Table 3 shows that offenders whose victims had been hospitalised were more frequently given prison sentences by the Court.

The following table outlines the relationship if any between offenders and their victims.

TABLE 4—Relationship Between Offender and Victim

Relationship	Number	Percentage
Wife	26	13.8
Other relative	3	1.6
Acquaintance	30	16.0
Stranger	122	64.9
Not known	7	3.7
	<hr/> 188	<hr/> 100.0

Over 30 percent of the offences were committed against persons known to the offender. Strangers, however, fared worse in all categories of offence except assault on a female in which category wives were the victims of 53 percent of the assaults.

Sexual jealousy was cited as an element in 13 cases. It was more a feature of assaults on females (5 out of 17 cases) than the other offences—common assault (4 out of 59 cases), aggravated assault (1 out of 32 cases), wounding with intent (3 out of 31 cases).

Provocation was defined as occurring where the victim, by virtue of his or her behaviour, contributed to the act perpetrated, e.g., where the subsequent victim had started an argument.

There was evidence of provocation in 50 of the 141 non-sexual offences and in 20 of the 27 sexual offences.

Only 12 of the 20 sexual offenders who had been provoked received prison sentences, whereas 6 of the 7 sexual offenders who had not been provoked received penalties of imprisonment.

The differences between penalties imposed according to provocation were not so great for non-sexual offences. Twenty-two of the 50 non-sexual offenders who were provoked (44 percent) were imprisoned compared to 44 of the 91 non-sexual offenders who were not provoked (48 percent).

The age of the victim was unknown in 86 cases. Among the 102 victims whose age was known 49 were under 20 years.

TABLE 5—Age of Offender by Age of Victim

Age of Victim			Age of Offender			
			Maori		N.Z. European	
			< 20 years	20+ years	< 20 years	20+ years
< 20 years	..	..	12	9	10	17
20+ years	..	..	2	23	5	17
			—	—	—	—
			14	32	15	34
			—	—	—	—

P < 0.1%

Among offenders of Maori origin there was a significant association between offenders' and victims' ages, i.e., Maori offenders, and not New Zealand European offenders, tended to attack people within their own age group.

There were 105 males and 76 females among the victims—in 7 cases sex of victim was not recorded. Because a larger number of New Zealand European offenders than Maoris in this sample were convicted for sexual offences against females, European offenders' victims were more frequently female than were the victims of Maori offenders. Thirty-six of the 75 New Zealand Europeans had assaulted females compared to 33 of the 94 Maoris.

Ethnic group of the victims was not recorded in this study but Department of Health statistics for 1961 indicate that there is a higher rate of hospitalisation of Maoris than Europeans because of "assault and injury purposely inflicted by other persons"*. The rates per 10,000 population for Maoris and Europeans admitted to hospital with these types of injury are the same up to age 15. In the age group 15–24 years the Maori rate was 5.1 and the European 3.3. In the age group 25–44 years the Maori rate was 9.3 and the European only 2.5. "The age-adjusted hospitalisation rate for Maoris was 169.9 percent higher than that for Europeans, most cases occurring in the 25–44 years' group."*

*"Maori Patients in Public Hospitals". F. H. Foster, 1965, p. 75.

SUMMARY

For the purposes of this descriptive exercise, degree of injury to the victim was categorised as minor, more serious, or hospitalised. Fifty-two percent of the victims on whom this information was available received minor injury, 25 percent more serious injury, and 23 percent were hospitalised.

Table 1 indicated that degree of injury varied significantly according to type of offence.

Table 2 showed that victims of a group assault were significantly more likely to be hospitalised than those assaulted by a lone offender.

Table 3 showed that the penalties imposed varied significantly according to the degree of injury suffered by the victim, a factor undoubtedly taken into account by the sentencing Court.

Table 4 indicated that 65 percent of the violent offences were committed against strangers.

Sexual jealousy was cited as being present in only 13 cases but provocation on the part of the victim was an element in 70 cases.

Provocation appeared to be taken into account by the sentencing Court, particularly in sexual offences, since it was found that provoked offenders were less frequently sentenced to imprisonment than unprovoked offenders.

Table 5 indicated that Maori, and not New Zealand European offenders, tended to attack persons in their own age group.

Department of Health statistics for 1961 indicated that Maori victims were more frequently admitted to hospital following assaults than Europeans.

Compensation for Criminal Injuries

It is not known whether any victims in this study claimed compensation for their injuries, but such compensation is available under the Criminal Injuries Compensation Act 1963.

This Act came into force on 1 January 1964, but there were few applications in its first few years of operation. The Act requires the Tribunal to give due weight to the behaviour of the victim and the question of provocation has to be considered. This often requires the examination of police and Court documents and may involve difficult problems even if the offender has been convicted. It was not intended that the Act should be used for trivial offences and its cost to the taxpayer has been small. Within its terms of reference it has met the needs of some necessitous cases. Provision is made for the recovery from the offender of amounts paid under the Act to the victim, so that in theory the State compensates the latter and endeavours to collect a sum from the former.

The majority of applications in the past have resulted from unprovoked assaults made in the street, in hotels, or by intruders in private homes. In some cases the offender had not been detected. In others, convictions ranged from common assault, to aggravated robbery and murder. Awards were based on such factors as medical expenses, pain and suffering incurred, loss of wages and funeral expenses. Some victims had suffered permanent disability. The amounts awarded for pecuniary loss due to incapacity to work do not exceed the current amounts paid under the Workers Compensation Act. Other payments which might be made to the victim, such as social security benefits, are taken into account by the Tribunal. The table below summarises information about awards made under this Act. It is evident that the number of claims met and the amounts awarded have increased in the last 2 years. Several of the awards are related to crimes committed in previous years. Although applications should be made within a year of the injury occurring, provision is made in the Act for extensions to be given by the Tribunal.

TABLE 6—Awards to Victims of Violent Crime under the Criminal Injuries Compensation Act, 1963

Year		Number of Awards	Smallest Amount	Largest Amount	Total Amount
			\$	\$	\$
1964..	..	7	74	964	2,084
1965..	..	9	24	1,348	3,198
1966..	..	8	66	1,050	2,942
1967..	..	20	36	511	6,039
1968..	..	13	62	4,085	7,409
1969..	..	34	24	1,840	15,320
1970..	..	31	120·50	2,146	13,370

CHAPTER 4

1969 and 1970

This chapter gives information about violent offending during 1969 and 1970. The *Police Gazette* was scanned for these 2 years for convictions of males for the eight violent offences already discussed.

The *Police Gazette* records that 2,190 persons were convicted for violent offences in 1969 and 2,432 in 1970. When the small number of assaults on females and children were included with common assault, the latter group amounted to over 90 percent of all violent offences. This proportion was found in both years studied.

Ethnic Groups

The 2 years gave consistent figures for convicted persons within each ethnic group as shown in table 1.

TABLE 1—Percentage in each Ethnic Group Convicted for Violent Offences in 1969 and 1970

Ethnic Group	1969		1970	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
N.Z. European	1,000	45.7	1,123	46.2
Maori	876	40.0	973	40.0
Islander	140	6.4	151	6.2
Other	174	7.9	185	7.6
	2,190	100.0	2,432	100.0

It is possible that had the 1968 sample (discussed in chapter 2) been larger the ethnic proportions would have approximated more closely those of 1969 and 1970.

As in all comparative figures of racial identity, allowance must be made for the unsatisfactory definition of "Maori". But however restrictive the definition it seems clear that Maoris offend in the field of violence at a rate at least four times that of the New Zealand European. The figures for Islander offending are small, but it appears that a group of New Zealand Samoans are more prone to violence than the Maori*.

*"Statistics of Justice", table showing "Birthplaces and Offence Groups".

Penalties

For most types of penalty there was consistency in the proportion sentenced in each of the 2 years. Exceptions were in the number directed to come up if called upon in which category there was a decrease in 1970, and there was an increase in 1970 in periodic detention and detention centre sentences. The number and percentage receiving each type of penalty is shown in table 2.

TABLE 2—Penalties Imposed for Assaults on Females, Children, and Common Assault during 1969 and 1970

Penalty	1969		1970	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Come up if called upon ..	276	12.6	47	1.9
Convicted and discharged ..	14	0.6	15	0.6
Fine	1,341	61.2	1,519	62.4
Probation with or without fine ..	250	11.4	311	12.8
Periodic detention ..	66	3.0	234	9.6
Detention centre ..	33	1.5	77	3.2
Borstal training ..	25	1.2	28	1.2
Imprisonment ..	185	8.5	201	8.3
	2,190	100.0	2,432	100.0

Fines ranged from \$10 to \$300. The circumstances of the offence are not detailed in the *Police Gazette*, and offenders who are fined rarely have a probation report. It is not possible, therefore, to study the relationship between seriousness of offence and fine imposed.

In 1969, 88.6 percent, and in 1970, 87.7 percent of the offenders convicted of assaults received sentences which permitted them to remain in the community.

Prison sentences for common assault ranged from 1 month to 1 year.

Almost all those convicted for the more serious offences received sentences of imprisonment or borstal training. A few were dealt with by periodic detention and small number by probation. The prison sentences ranged up to 7 years.

The following list shows in the right-hand column the variety of penalties imposed by the Supreme Court in 1970 for selected violent offences. Also shown are the factors taken into account by the sentencing Judge. These cases have been extracted from the Department of Justice Register—"Sentences Imposed by the Supreme Court".

TABLE 3—Cases of Violence Sentenced in the Supreme Court 1970

Age	Offence	Previous Convictions	Factors Taken Into Account	Sentence
54	<i>Wounding with Intent</i> Wounding with intent. Attack with chisel on a fellow inmate.	45	One previous conviction for violence in 1941.	6 months' imprisonment cumulative on present sentence.
17	Wounding with intent. Stabbed victim in chest and abdomen.	16	Vicious and brutal attack. Benefit of doubt given as to provocation.	Borstal training.
28	Wounding with intent (2). In company with others wounded two pedestrians with rifle.	Nil	Drink involved. Did not play active part. Good record. Time spent in custody.	2 years' probation and \$250 costs.
27	Wounding with intent (2). In company with others wounded two pedestrians with rifle.	7	Drink involved. Such violence too common—public entitled to protection—deterrent sentence necessary. Broken marriage and loss of children.	5 years' imprisonment.
30	Wounding with intent (2). In company with others wounded two pedestrians with rifle.	Nil	Drink involved. Jury strongly recommended mercy. Good husband, father, and worker. First offender.	2 years' probation and \$250 costs.
18	Wounding with intent. When being removed from hotel, as under age, attacked constable with a broken beer glass.	1	Unwarranted attack on police officer carrying out his duty. Allowed to consume far too much liquor.	Borstal training.
44	<i>Aggravated Injury</i> Broke into building. Knocked night watchman unconscious and stole his watch.	58	Serious offence. Deterrent sentence called for.	4 years' imprisonment.
20	Violent assault on widow to facilitate theft.	8	Offences committed 4 days after being released on probation for charge of forgery. Also sentenced for arson.	Borstal training.
23	Forced his way into house, attacked housewife, tied her and attempted rape.	14	Serious Crime. Swollen headed vain fellow who must be taught that behaviour will not be tolerated.	2 years' imprisonment.

TABLE 3—Cases of Violence Sentenced in the Supreme Court 1970—continued

Age	Offence	Previous Convictions	Factors Taken Into Account	Sentence
21	Disturbed while attempting car conversion. Wounded complainant with a knife when he tried to stop him leaving the scene.	5	Serious offence. Person badly wounded. Trying to start engine with knife. Wife willing to stick by him. Newly born baby.	2½ years' imprisonment.
22 and 23	Two offenders stole a car, apprehended by a police constable whom they assaulted and left unconscious on footpath.	28 and 72 respectively	A savage assault upon a constable. Criminal history of dishonesty, car conversion, and burglary. Very substantial sentence of imprisonment warranted.	3½ years' imprisonment.
27	<i>Threats of Violence</i> Threatening to kill. Violence used.	1	Convicted murderer released on probation. Deliberately stabbed decent young woman, assaulted her and threatened to kill her. Intervention and pluck of milkman prevented more serious crime. Offender also sentenced for attempted rape and conversion.	9 years' imprisonment and recalled to life sentence.
23	Threatened constable with knives.	33	Most serious offence. Not able, or not prepared to make any effort to overcome tendency to take excessive alcohol.	15 months' imprisonment.
26 (Female)	Threatened to wound her husband with gun.	Nil	Serious charge. Could have led to charges of greater gravity. No repentance but unlikely to act so foolishly again.	6 months' imprisonment.
32	Threatening to kill. Telephoned his wife and threatened to kill her.	27	Unstable marriage. Provocation. Psychiatric history.	1 month imprisonment.
20	Threatening to kill. After armed bank robbery escaped by ordering a motorist at gun-point to drive him from the scene.	3	Very grave crime. Youth. Unhappy upbringing.	3 years' imprisonment concurrent sentence for aggravated robbery, conversion, escape, and theft.
19 and 17	<i>Aggravated Robbery</i> Jointly assaulted woman in her shop with intent to rob her.	11 and 5 respectively	Prevalent offence. Deterrent sentence. Victim not seriously hurt. Unhappy background. Immature.	3 years' imprisonment and borstal training respectively.

TABLE 3—Cases of Violence Sentenced in the Supreme Court 1970—continued

Age	Offence	Previous Convictions	Factors Taken Into Account	Sentence
18	With others attacked and robbed two men in city boardinghouse.	5	Released from borstal 4 months previously. Both victims in hospital for some time. Companion played major part in assaults.	2½ years' imprisonment.
26 and 19	Armed hold-up of bank, \$6,800 taken. Robbed service station attendant, overpowered by threats with dummy gun.	2 and nil respectively	Weapons not loaded. No violence but threats of violence. Remorse shown.	6 years' imprisonment for each offender.
26	Robbed man of wristlet watch and caused him grievous bodily harm.	12	Unprovoked and vicious assault on much older man. A danger in streets to innocent passers-by.	5 years' imprisonment.
24 and 23	Together robbed manageress of TAB and caused grievous bodily harm.	30 and 39 respectively	Vicious cowardly attack on frail woman of 61 years. Victim beaten up in own home in middle of night, tied up and robbed.	6 years' and 4 years' imprisonment respectively.
16	With another knocked driver of car unconscious. Robbed him and left him tied up on road. Took car.	4	Also charged with conversion. Serious offences. Age.	Borstal training.
20	<i>Rape and Attempted Rape</i> Attempted rape. Followed 17-year-old girl who attempted to escape. Struggle ensued.	4	No real harm done to girl partly due to her spirited resistance. Country boy in city short time.	Borstal training.
27	Assault to commit rape. Assaulted victim in a motor vehicle.	37	Long record of offences of dishonesty, as well as assault including sexual assaults. Also sentenced for receiving. Psychiatric reports.	4 years' imprisonment.
21	Attempted to rape girl aged 15 years 9 months.	5	Over consumption of alcohol. Unpremeditated act. Pleading guilty. Loyal young wife. Trying over last few years to make best use of life. Chance given.	3 years' probation with special conditions. Fined \$125.

TABLE 3—Cases of Violence Sentenced in the Supreme Court 1970—*continued*

Age	Offence	Previous Convictions	Factors Taken Into Account	Sentence
31	Took girl home from party. Attempted to rape her.	31	Girl of poor character, may have misled accused in early stages of incident. But liquor combined with violence not to be tolerated.	18 months' imprisonment.
32	Picked up 18-year-old hitchhiker, deviated from main road to isolated tract to commit offence.	38	Girl not subjected to any gross violence—came through episode with minimum physical and psychological damage. Deliberately planned offence.	3 years' imprisonment.
33	Victim middle-aged spinster, stranger, attacked in bed in her own flat. Considerable violence used.	30	Past record. Brutal case.	6 years' imprisonment.
37	<i>Aggravated Assault</i> Committed assault to escape from building he had broken and entered.	63	Psychiatric report. Suffers from personality disorder—alcohol and drug problem.	18 months' imprisonment.
28	Assaulted constable when attempting to flee.	25	Serious offence. Also burglary and attempted car conversion.	18 months' imprisonment.
33 (Female)	Assaulted woman police constable in execution of her duty.	13	Serious offence. Domestic affairs. Already on probation.	To come up if called upon within 12 months.
25	Assisting an accomplice in assaulting a pie cart proprietor.	15	Attack on witness. Long previous record including three convictions for assault.	12 months' Adult Periodic Detention Centre. Two years probation.
17	Gate crashed party and assaulted occupier of premises.	2	Age. Good worker and responded to probation.	Borstal training.
30	Assaulted stranger in hotel bar.	37	Many previous convictions for assault. Two months in custody. Chance given.	6 months, Adult Periodic Detention Centre.

COMMENT

It is arguable that family size, child-rearing practices, alcohol, limited educational achievement and cultural habits have been consistent factors in violent offending for many years, and while important for the incidence of violence bear no direct relationship to the increase in convictions. There has been widespread speculation on the relationship between violence and the mass media, but studies of the subject have yielded inconclusive results. Some studies of offending, particularly Maori offending, mention the importance of city stresses, non-acceptance, and inability to express anger in any other way than by physical means—"the only language they know". A comment on the Hunn Report says: "It seems to us that the continuing rise in Maori crime is a function of the inferior status felt by the Maoris because of their educational levels, employment and associated economic standing, and lack of understanding of the urban society into which they are thrust. Consequently, a fall in the rate of Maori crime may not occur until the difficulties in other social fields have been resolved."*

A general all-embracing aetiology of violence is probably an unrealistic goal. But so wide are the differences in philosophies of causation and so enthusiastic are the protagonists of widely varying beliefs, that the situation calls for a study in depth, involving all the disciplines engaged in the study of violence. Only when such a study takes place, but perhaps not even then, will guidelines be given to those entrusted with the care of aggressive offenders.

Although any illegal violence is to be deplored, from a historical viewpoint some violence seems inevitable in all but a very few primitive societies. Commenting on the latter, Graham and Gurr point out that—"These gentle societies generally lack the cultural model of brave aggressive masculinity, a pervasive model that seems so conducive to violence."† Violence is also characteristic of times of social change and of increasing urbanisation. Since it is unlikely that either of these processes can readily be interrupted, it is difficult to know what can be done to hold the increase of violence within "reasonable" limits.

Most New Zealand violence appears to be unpremeditated, unthinking, and unpredictable, but may be related albeit unconsciously to some factors mentioned above. To say this is not to find excuses for such behaviour, but it may shed some light on the disproportionate violence of Maoris and Islanders. We may now be confronted for the

*"A Measure of Progress". Some aspects of the Hunn Report. November 1968. School of Political Science and Public Administration, V.U.W., p. 9.

†"The History of Violence in America". p. 802.

first time with a sub-culture of violence in the larger cities of New Zealand not only amongst these two groups, but among a corresponding group of New Zealand Europeans who, not surprisingly in view of their numerical preponderance, are responsible for the greater amount of recorded violent offending.

In few cases of violence can the act be foreseen or the victim protected. The flash point of jealousy, anger, or vengeance is the sudden outcome of so many variables that prediction is impossible. Every man has a threshold of frustration tolerance that will vary from one situation to another. Many violent offenders initially profess profound remorse for their actions, but on release from prison commit the same kind of violence again.

Although strengthening systems of law enforcement by increased manpower and stronger sanctions is sometimes advocated, it is doubtful whether this kind of conduct is readily responsive to deterrent sanctions. Explosive behaviour does not dwell on consequences and some countries with the most severe punishments for violence have the highest incidence of violent offending.

While such measures may be necessary to contain specific outbreaks of violence, they are unlikely to prevent their recurrence. The law can be applied only after the violent act. The history of punishment, and studies in corporal punishment carried out by the Cadogan Committee and the Canadian Parliament have shown that the type or severity of physical punishment seems to have little bearing on violence*. Yet the revulsion of our society at illegal violence, as well as at other delinquent behaviour, is manifested through the penal sanctions available to the Courts.

Treatment

Apart from the imposition of punishment the treatment of individual offenders varies widely and is still mainly experimental. Sexual offenders have been treated with oral oestrogen and more recently with the tranquilliser benperidol. Japanese doctors have treated very violent offenders with brain surgery—amygdalotomy.

In the United States, severely aggressive men have been given a totally paralysing drug and then exposed to verbal suggestion for the control of their emotions. All these men are volunteers. More techniques of operant conditioning are being developed.

In New Zealand specific cases are being dealt with according to their individual circumstances and to the situation in which aggressive behaviour occurs. This may involve counselling in a deteriorating domestic scene, and helping the offender to control his or her indulgence

*"The Law and Punishment". Department of Justice. A. R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, 1969.

in alcohol. It may involve furthering the education of an offender and fitting him for an occupation in keeping with his potential. Psychotherapy is available to a limited degree to those who want such treatment. Medication is given to inmates whose violence has an established physiological basis (assessed from abnormal E.E.G. patterns).

For others, in whom violent behaviour is a deep-rooted or a psychopathic condition, it is doubtful whether the prison environment and amenities are geared to such intensive treatment as might be necessary. In the past some violent offenders serving indeterminate sentences were merely held until, following a subjective assessment of personality maturation, they were deemed fit to be returned to the community.

Perhaps greater emphasis should be placed on exerting public effort and encouraging private efforts to alleviate conditions leading to violence. As Gibbens says: "We must consider not violent people but instead violent situations."*

Although it seems that a certain amount of violence is inevitable, Toch points out that it can be reduced in situations where opportunities are shared by all and material progress matched by advances in interpersonal conduct. "Our observations suggest the importance of civilised child-bearing, of education that stresses selflessness and self-confidence and that leads to positive communication."† Communication is also of urgent importance where not only are people compressed in growing cities, but where many of them are immigrants of different ethnic groups.

It is appropriate to conclude this study by referring again to the report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence‡. In that report it was noted that "progress in meeting the demands of those seeking social change does not always reduce the level of violence. It may cause those who feel threatened by change to engage in counterviolence against those seeking to shift the balance". Such conflicting social forces are at work in New Zealand as in the United States and it is important not to separate a view of violence from this context.

The Commission noted that "social control of violence through law depends in large measure on the perceived legitimacy of the law and the society it supports". Understanding must be gained of the perception of the law by certain groups who violate it.

Since violence in society affects all within the society its most effective control requires the active engagement and commitment of every citizen. An appreciation of some of the characteristics of the violent offender should help towards this end.

*Op. cit, p. 408.

†Toch, H. "Violent Men", p. 248.

‡National Commission "On the Causes and Prevention of Violence". U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1969.

APPENDIX I

Description of Eight Violent Crimes

Common Assault

This offence is defined in s.2 of the Crimes Act 1961 as:

“The act of intentionally applying or attempting to apply force to the person of another, directly or indirectly, or threatening by any act or gesture to apply such force to the person of another, if the person making the threat has, or causes the other to believe on reasonable grounds that he has present ability to effect his purpose . . .”

Common assault may be charged either indictably under s.196, Crimes Act 1961, where the maximum penalty is 1 year, or summarily under the Police Offences Amendment Act. Under the Police Offences Amendment Act (No. 2) 1952 the maximum penalty was 3 months. This was increased in 1970 to 6 months. Almost all charges of common assault are made under the Police Offences Act and an offender so charged has no right to claim jury trial. The indictable offence is used principally as an alternative charge in more serious cases.

Aggravated Assault, s.192, Crimes Act 1961

The maximum penalty for this offence is 3 years. A person who assaults another:

- (a) to commit another crime;
 - (b) to prevent detection while committing another crime;
 - (c) to escape after he has committed another crime,
- is guilty of aggravated assault.

In the “Justice Statistics”, “assault with intent to injure” (s.193, Crimes Act 1961), maximum penalty—3 years, is coded with this category.

The following offences are all defined in the Crimes Act 1961.

Assault by a Male on a Female

Under s.194 (b) of the Crimes Act 1961 the maximum penalty for this offence is 2 years.

Robbery, s.234

Robbery is theft accompanied by violence or threats of violence, to any person or property, used to extort the property stolen or to prevent or overcome resistance to its being stolen.

The maximum penalty is 10 years.

Aggravated Robbery, s.235

The maximum penalty is 14 years. In this offence either the circumstances or consequences of the robbery are such as to make the acts more serious than those where the offender is charged with "robbery". The "aggravating" factors are:

- (a) Using such violence that serious bodily harm results;
- (b) Robbery committed by two or more persons;
- (c) Committing robbery while armed with an offensive weapon.

In the "Justice Statistics", "assault with intent to rob" (s.237), maximum penalty—10 years, is coded with this category.

Wounding with Intent (s.188)

A person is guilty of this offence who, with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, wounds, maims, disfigures, or causes grievous bodily harm to any person, or who, with intent to injure anyone, or with reckless disregard for the safety of others, wounds, maims, disfigures, or causes grievous bodily harm to any person.

This offence has two elements—

- (1) a substantial injury caused to the victim, and
- (2) *either*
 - (a) an intent to cause grievous bodily harm *or*
 - (b) an intent to injure *or*
 - (c) no specific intent but reckless disregard for the safety of others.

Where (2)(a) applies the maximum punishment is 14 years. Where (2)(b) or (c) the maximum punishment is 7 years' imprisonment.

"Injury" as defined in the Crimes Act means causing actual bodily harm; any degree of harm will suffice. "Wounding" has been interpreted in England to mean a break in the skin. Quite a trivial hurt may therefore be a wound and quite a serious hurt (e.g., a broken jaw) may not.

In the "Justice Statistics" "injuring with intent" (s.189) for which the maximum penalty is 10 years and "aggravated wounding or injury" (s.191) for which the maximum penalty is 14 years are coded with "wounding with intent".

Rape, s.128

Rape is the act of a male person having sexual intercourse with a woman or girl—

- (a) Without her consent; or
- (b) With consent extorted by fear of bodily harm or by threats; or
- (c) With consent extorted by fear, on reasonable grounds, that the refusal or consent would result in the death of or greivous bodily injury to a third person; or
- (d) With consent obtained by personating her husband; or
- (e) With consent obtained by a false and fraudulent representation as to the nature and quality of the act.

It will be noted that rape may occur in the absence of violence, e.g., where the victim is intoxicated or where there is personation.

The maximum penalty for rape is 14 years' imprisonment.

Under the Criminal Justice Act a second offence of rape makes the offender liable to preventive detention with a minimum of 7 years' imprisonment and no maximum.

Attempt to Commit Rape, s.129

This section includes assault with intent to commit rape. The maximum penalty is 10 years' imprisonment.

APPENDIX II

Police Statistics

When a person is arrested for an offence, such as assault, he is informed of the charge. After the arrest, a written report is made by the arresting constable. At this stage the precise Act and section of the Act is defined. It may be amended by or agreed upon with the officer in charge of the watch house. The charge is finally checked by the prosecutor of the Police Department.

Definitions of what constitutes any given crime are available to the constable when writing his report, in the Crimes Act 1961, the Police Offences Act, the Police Department Manual and the Manual for Detectives. Provided with a list of all the points which must be proved if prosecution is to be effective, there is still in some cases a subjective element in deciding which offence to proceed with. Common assault could perhaps be charged as assault on a female which carries a stronger maximum penalty if charged under the Crimes Act. Some assaults could be charged as disorderly behaviour and vice versa, but the seriousness of the assault, coupled with the strength of the case, are the main determining factors.

The charge is recorded on a statistics form. The number of charges brought against the offender is related to the number of victims in that if he assaulted two persons two charges are made. But more than one offender can be separately charged for assaults on a single victim. Thus the number of assaults in 1 year does not necessarily indicate an equal number of victims. The statistics form is completed when the case is cleared by:

- (a) Prosecution, in which case the offender is brought to Court;
- (b) Other means for one of the following reasons:
 - (i) No offence disclosed (in some of these cases another charge could have been made);
 - (ii) A warning is given if the case is considered too trivial to take to Court or the evidence is too slight;
 - (iii) Children referred to the Youth Aid Section who are not in one of the other categories;
 - (iv) Low mentality but not sufficiently retarded to be committed to a mental institution;
 - (v) Infancy; children under 10 years cannot be prosecuted and between 10 and 14 years it must be proved that the child knew he was doing wrong;

(vi) Offender is already in custody following sentencing for another offence;

(vii) Offender died or left the country before the information was laid. In some offences the time for laying information may have lapsed. (The maximum period allowed in common assault is 6 months.)

The complainant's attitude, which may change after the complaint is made, is taken into consideration when the decision is made whether to prosecute or not. If it is decided to proceed with prosecution and the complainant proves unco-operative, either no evidence is presented in Court by the police and the accused is discharged, or the case may be withdrawn by leave of the Court.

There are many cases which remain uncleared. Violent offending has a "high visibility" content, i.e., offenders against the person are more likely to be detected than offenders against property. A greater number of thefts and conversions, for example, remain uncleared by the police than assaults. In 1970, 18 percent of the cases of common assault remained uncleared compared to 65 percent of the cases of theft (all classes). Table 1 shows that in 1968 a higher proportion of offences of robbery, aggravated robbery, and assault with intent to rob remained uncleared than other violent offences; the highest clearance rate is for the offence of "resisting, obstructing, or assaulting the police". Some of these are "technical" offences which occur when the offender is already under arrest on another charge.

TABLE 1—Police Statistics for Violent Offences, 1968 (Male and Female)

Offence	No. Reported	No. Prosecuted	No. Cleared by Other Means	No Offence Disclosed	Uncleared No. Percent
Common assault	4,673	2,869	776	245	783 (16·8)
Aggravated assault	21	17	1	1	2 (9·5)
Robbery	133	49	3	17	64 (48·0)
Aggravated robbery	11	5	..	..	6 (54·5)
Assault with intent to rob	20	5	..	1	14 (70·0)
Wounding with intent	25	20	1	1	3 (12·0)
Assault on a female/child	295	195	23	13	64 (21·7)
Rape	129	52	..	52	25 (19·4)
Attempted rape	9	6	..	2	1 (11·0)
Resisting, obstructing, assaulting police	653	639	6	2	6 (0·9)

Some of the offences which remain uncleared in 1 year are cleared in the following, e.g., of the 783 cases of common assault uncleared in 1968, 244 or 31 percent were cleared in 1969.

APPENDIX III

Raw Data from Justice Statistics

A. The following tables show the number of males convicted in the Magistrates' and Supreme Courts for each offence during the years for which trends were calculated. Figures refer to distinct cases, convictions only. The rates per 100,000 male population, calculated over the mean population estimates for each year, males aged 15-59 years, are also shown.

TABLE 1—Convictions for Common Assault

Year		Number	Rate	Year		Number	Rate
1956	740	119.48	1963	..	..
1957	747	118.09	1964	..	..
1958	827	128.08	1965	..	..
1959	718	109.46	1966	..	..
1960	837	126.10	1967	..	..
1961	939	138.64	1968	..	..
1962	1,154	165.72	1969	..	..
						1,231	172.89
						1,363	187.02
						1,282	172.18
						1,627	215.64
						1,748	228.19
						2,009	260.22
						2,006	257.32

TABLE 2—Convictions for Assault on a Female/Child*

Year		Number	Rate
1965	130
1966	119
1967	165
1968	116
1969	141
			17.46
			15.77
			21.54
			15.03
			18.08

*These figures were added to convictions for common assault from 1965.

TABLE 3—Convictions for Aggravated Assault

Year		Number	Rate	Year		Number	Rate
1956	19	3.07	1963	..	..
1957	27	4.27	1964	..	..
1958	53	8.21	1965	..	..
1959	51	7.78	1966	..	..
1960	50	7.53	1967	..	..
1961	69	10.19	1968	..	..
1962	45	6.46	1969	..	..
						42	5.90
						33	4.53
						50	6.72
						39	5.17
						33	4.31
						49	6.35
						43	5.52

TABLE 4—Convictions for Robbery

Year			Number	Rate	Year			Number	Rate
1956	..	..	28	4.52	1963	..	..	14	1.20
1957	..	..	27	4.27	1964	..	..	18	2.50
1958	..	..	21	3.25	1965	..	..	17	2.28
1959	..	..	15	2.29	1966	..	..	24	3.18
1960	..	..	24	3.62	1967	..	..	20	2.83
1961	..	..	20	2.95	1968	..	..	48	6.22
1962	..	..	20	2.87	1969	..	..	48	6.16

TABLE 5—Convictions for Aggravated Robbery

Year			Number	Rate	Year			Number	Rate
1956	..	..	16	2.58	1963	..	..	12	1.69
1957	..	..	6	.95	1964	..	..	7	.96
1958	..	..	14	2.17	1965	..	..	5	.67
1959	..	..	4	.61	1966	..	..	8	1.06
1960	..	..	17	2.56	1967	..	..	16	2.09
1961	..	..	16	2.36	1968	..	..	15	1.94
1962	..	..	6	.86	1969	..	..	13	1.67

TABLE 6—Convictions for Wounding with Intent

Year			Number	Rate	Year			Number	Rate
1956	..	..	13	2.10	1963	..	..	12	1.69
1957	..	..	13	2.06	1964	..	..	22	3.02
1958	..	..	5	.78	1965	..	..	13	1.75
1959	..	..	7	1.07	1966	..	..	29	3.84
1960	..	..	6	.90	1967	..	..	23	3.00
1961	..	..	15	2.21	1968	..	..	38	4.92
1962	..	..	13	1.89	1969	..	..	44	5.64

TABLE 7—Convictions for Rape

Year		Number	Rate	Year		Number	Rate
1956	..	18	2.91	1963	..	12	1.68
1957	..	8	1.26	1964	..	8	1.09
1958	..	8	1.24	1965	..	11	1.48
1959	..	6	.91	1966	..	20	2.65
1960	..	7	1.05	1967	..	12	1.56
1961	..	51	7.53	1968	..	18	2.32
1962	..	15	2.15	1969	..	28	3.59

TABLE 8—Convictions for Attempted Rape

Year		Number	Rate	Year		Number	Rate
1956	..	8	1.29	1963	..	15	2.10
1957	..	5	.79	1964	..	3	.41
1958	..	11	1.70	1965	..	11	1.48
1959	..	7	1.07	1966	..	8	1.06
1960	..	19	2.86	1967	..	20	2.61
1961	..	6	.88	1968	..	11	1.42
1962	..	12	1.72	1969	..	29	3.72

B. The following table gives the raw figures extracted from "Justice Statistics", from which rates and trends were calculated for ethnic group and age groups.

TABLE 9—Convictions for Violent Offences—Magistrate's Court, Arrest cases, Distinct Cases, Males only, Maori and non-Maori Figures in Age Groups 1963-68

Age Groups

Year	16-19		20-24		25-29		30+		Total	
	M	N.M.	M	N.M.	M	N.M.	M	N.M.	M	N.M.
1963	40	89	84	162	50	109	72	262	246	622
1964	35	119	73	199	46	128	71	336	225	782
1965	65	118	114	237	62	117	112	267	353	739
1966	93	205	134	263	82	127	130	342	439	937
1967	70	288	91	355	45	209	101	423	307	1,275
1968	135	242	209	349	118	159	161	353	623	1,103

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
	<i>Chapter 1</i>	
1.	Convictions for resisting, obstructing, or assaulting the police	13
2.	Average yearly increase in rate for each category of violent offence	18
3.	Offences of common assault reported to the police ..	19
4.	Rate for females convicted of violent offences ..	19
5.	Percentage of convictions which were arrest cases in each each type of offence	21
6.	Rate of conviction for violent offences by ethnic group and age group	22
7.	Results of statistical analysis of violent offending by ethnic group and age group	22
	<i>Chapter 2</i>	
1.	The sample of violent offenders	29
2.	Percentage of the New Zealand male population and violent offenders in each age category	30
3.	Marital status in the New Zealand male population and the sample of violent offenders	31
4.	Age of offender by group offence	34
5.	Counsel representation by ethnic group	35
6.	Offender's plea by counsel representation	36
7.	Penalties imposed for each offence	36
8.	Previous institutional experience by penalty imposed ..	37
	<i>Chapter 3</i>	
1.	Degree of injury to victim by type of offence	39
2.	Degree of injury to victim by group offence	39
3.	Degree of injury to victim by penalty imposed	40
4.	Relationship between offender and victim	40
5.	Age of offender by age of victim	41
6.	Awards to victims of violent crime under the Criminal Injuries Compensation Act.. .. .	43
	<i>Chapter 4</i>	
1.	Percentage in each ethnic group convicted for violent offending in 1969 and 1970	44
2.	Penalties imposed for assaults during 1969 and 1970 ..	45
3.	Cases of violence sentenced in the Supreme Court 1970 ..	46

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(See also bibliography in *Crime in New Zealand*, page 215)

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